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UNION-BUSTING FBI RAIDS TROTSKYIST HEADQUARTERS

The Only Real Defense Of The Soviet Union

An Appeal To The Members Of The Communist Party

Fellow Workers of the Communist Party:

The defense of the Soviet Union against the Nazi imperialist attack is the task of every class-conscious worker. Nearly twenty-four years ago the Russian workers overthrew their capitalist rulers and nationalized the land and all other means of production. This was the greatest forward step taken by any people in the history of mankind. The Russian Revolution of October, 1917, set up the first fortress of the world revolution. If the workers of the world are to advance to a new socialist order, that fortress has to be defended, those great proletarian conquests have to be preserved.

But how is the Soviet Union to be defended by American workers? By British workers? By German workers? What is the road to follow? *What can be done?* If we answer this question correctly and act accordingly, the workers of the world can yet save the earth from the horrors of imperialist war and set it on the road to socialism.

This is an hour of the gravest danger for the Soviet Union and for the world revolution. This is an hour when every revolutionist must weigh his responsibilities and the policies of his leaders. You set the defense of the Soviet Union as your first task. We do likewise. On that basis we appeal to you to give sober consideration to the grave problems of this defense.

Your National Committee has issued a manifesto (*Daily Worker*, June 30) in which it sets out the road it asks you to follow in defending the Soviet Union. This turns out to be the road you travelled once before—the road of the People's Front. This was the road that led to disaster in Spain and France, the road that led to the Stalin-Hitler pact and the outbreak of the imperialist war and, finally, to the imperialist attack on the USSR.

We ask you to pause before making this blind turn in the dark. We ask you to stop and think: Where will this lead us? How will this defend the Soviet Union?

Your National Committee's basic proposition now is that "the involvement of the Soviet Union in the war has changed the character of the war." That is, it is no longer an imperialist war.

Last week Britain, the United States and Germany were at war for a redivision of the spoils of the world—fighting to exploit enslaved peoples and the wealth of the earth for the benefit of small groups of super-capitalists. Has this changed within a week?

Are Britain and the United States fighting one whit less for their imperialist interests than they were before June 22, the day Hitler invaded the U.S.S.R.? Has anything changed? Has Roosevelt ceased his anti-labor drive? Has he abandoned his steady progress toward a wartime dictatorship over the American workers, the stamping out of every hard-fought right of labor? On the contrary, during the past week, we have seen the FBI raid in Minneapolis, the most flagrant use so far of the FBI as a union-busting body.

Has Churchill suddenly ceased to be the representative of an imperialist empire which holds half a billion people in the chains of colonial slavery?

No, you cannot believe there has been a change. An imperialist power cannot wage any kind of war but an imperialist war.

Yet your National Committee calls now for a People's Front with the Roosevelts and Churchills. You are called upon to support the very people who, in the words of your own William Z. Foster less than two weeks ago, are "war-mongering imperialists" preparing "Hitleristic terrorism" against the American workers.

A week ago you were opposing this campaign of Roosevelt terrorism. Today you are asked to support it. You will have to go along with the vicious attack on unions, on the standard of living of the workers. You will have to go along with oppression of Negroes. You will have to go along with open and unashamed capitalist war-mongers. This is the policy of the "People's Front."

Do you think that by abandonment of the struggles of the workers you will facilitate Roosevelt's 'aid' to the Soviet Union? Don't be fooled. Any 'aid' that imperialist Britain and imperialist United States give to the Soviet Union now is not to bring about a Soviet victory over the Nazis. It will be given only to serve imperialist calculations in Washington and London. The last thing they want is a Soviet victory!

The Roosevelts and Churchills and their spokesmen do not conceal the fact that it is their dearest hope to see the Soviet Government overthrown as a result of this war. And don't make any mistake about it: the moment conditions are favorable to them *they will help bring about such an overthrow.* They tried it twenty years ago. They will try it again. And if you give them your support *now* you are helping them in their plans. You are not helping the workers of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is now compelled to enter into temporary alliances with capitalist powers, but only the Soviet England and Soviet America of tomorrow will insure to the Soviet Union the international working class support it needs to survive. That means that only by helping to bring about the overthrow of capitalism right here at home will we be serving the interests of the Soviet Union. Any other road will lead to defeat for the workers of the U.S.S.R. and fascist enslavement over the face of the globe.

You are being asked to make another dizzy shift in policy because Stalin's situation has been changed by Hitler's attack. You are asked now to revert to your old disastrous policy as though nothing had happened in between.

But something *has* happened. Stalin's policies have alienated the sympathies of millions of workers everywhere. They have sown confusion and chaos. You won't help defend the Soviet Union now by obeying Stalin's command to throw your arms around the necks of the imperialist bosses. You won't win workers' support for the Soviet cause by abandoning their struggles and asking them to bend docilely to the capitalist yoke.

Comrades of the Communist Party—only by deepening the revolutionary struggle, fighting ceaselessly against the imperialist war, capitalist terror, can you march side by side with the Red Army in its defense against Hitler. Not a People's Front with the bosses, but a workers' front of struggle! This is the only real defense of the Soviet Union. And in this defense we stand ready to join you in any action that will advance our common cause.

Boss Paper Gives The Show Away

GARY COOPER
...Sgt. Alvin C. York, World War Hero, is pictured in the "SHOW" Section of next Sunday's Pioneer Press.

St. Paul Dispatch

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U. S. TO PROSECUTE 544

Greatest Bomber Takes to Air

Sedi...

This headline in the St. Paul DISPATCH, June 28, gives the show away about the real reasons for the government's move to get indictments, on charges of "seditious conspiracy", against leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Acting Attorney General Biddle said: "The prosecution is not in any sense an attack on organized labor." The bosses know better—as this headline in the local boss press shows.

Why The American Gestapo Attacks Socialist Workers Party

For the first time in American history the Federal Government, operating through its Gestapo-FBI, has openly taken sides in a dispute between two factions in the trade union movement—the fight between Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, representating progressive industrial unionism, and Tobin's moth-eaten AFL craft setup.

For the first time before a formal declaration of war Federal prosecution, designed to silence the voice of protest against Roosevelt's imperialist war program, has been instituted—the raids upon the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul and the Acting Attorney General's move to indict the party's members and militant unionists.

These unprecedented actions have come as a shock to the entire labor movement, especially to its most progressive and now dominant sector, the CIO; and to all those who still retain a certain respect for democratic rights and civil liberties. There is, nevertheless, a profound logic in the persecutions and prosecutions instigated at this time and in this place and against the specifically-designated victims. This must be understood if the fight against these outrages is to be waged successfully.

The United States is on the eve of war. As part of his preparations for complete participation in the war, Roosevelt seeks to remove from the scene militant unionism and militant opposition to his war plans.

In pursuit of his starkly reactionary aims, Roosevelt has accurately chosen Minneapolis as the place to launch his attack. For Minneapolis is the home of Local 544-CIO, renowned for its militancy and its progressive union policies, and regarded as the spearhead of the most progressive forces in the trade union movement. Local 544-CIO has a capable and honest leadership. Its rank and file have been trained and steeled in battle. Since its famous strikes of 1934 electrified the nation, the bosses and all their agents have been unable to break that powerful union. The mighty bureaucratic machine of Tobin's Teamsters International, with its treasure-chest of six million dollars, could not tame 544. Even Roosevelt's public declaration of June 13—an action without precedent in the history of the American Labor movement—could not intimidate the rank and file of 544 or swing the tide in Tobin's favor. The workers held fast to their slogan: "We made Minneapolis a Union Town—Let's keep it that way!"

Nothing remained for Roosevelt-Tobin save to call upon the Gestapo-FBI. Far from being a disgrace, this is the greatest tribute that could be paid to the magnificent union which has become the cornerstone of progressive labor in Minneapolis and the Northwest. The sympathy of every honest trade unionist, the solidarity of every progressive body of labor, will go out to Local 544-CIO in its struggle against the union-busting activities of the FBI. The workers will rally to its defense, realizing that the prosecution against the Minneapolis motor transport workers is, as the Department of Justice brazenly announces, "only the first step" in the Federal government's nation-wide drive against "radicals"—a drive, in reality, against the independence of the trade unions.

Minneapolis is more than the vanguard of the American labor movement. It is also the traditional center of opposition to imperialist war. Thus Roosevelt has a double reason for starting his prosecutions in the capital of the Northwest where, in the last elections, the "Trotskyist Anti-War Candidate" received almost 9,000 votes.

The people against whom the FBI prosecutions are being directed are designated as members of the Socialist Workers Party—the Trotskyists.

This, too, is profoundly logical, as Roosevelt rushes into the war. The Communist Party, on behalf of its master, Stalin, has returned to support of Roosevelt. Now it becomes crystal-clear to all militant workers that the only consistent opponents of the imperialist war are the Trotskyists. All the slanders of the Stalinists, all the Moscow frameups, the assassination of Leon Trotsky, have failed to confuse either the capitalist masters or the workers of the United States. Both know the real truth about the Trotskyists. They know that the followers of the martyred Trotsky are the banner-bearers of the revolutionary ideas and traditions of the great Bolshevik movement of Marx and Lenin. That is why Roosevelt wishes to outlaw our party as part of his war preparations.

While the Communist Party is overnight transforming itself into an ultra-patriotic gang and showing its yellow colors, we Trotskyists remain true to our red banner, our revolutionary program, our fight against imperialist war, our struggle for socialism.

We retract nothing, we repent nothing! We will not retreat an inch! We are going to carry forward to ever-wider sections of the working class population the fight in defense of our democratic rights. In doing so we shall be dealing a timely and telling blow to every reactionary move and measure against the rights and liberties of the entire labor movement.

We call upon every serious worker, every honest friend of democratic rights, to assist us in our fight. Together we shall beat back the attacks of reaction and go forward to a better world.

Moves To Indict Party Leaders, Union Militants

"Seditious Cohspiracy" Charge Designed To Aid Minneapolis Employers And Tobin In Their Attempt To Crush Local 544-CIO

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, July 1—A federal grand jury convened today on instructions of the U. S. Department of Justice, as the government hastily moved to indict Socialist Workers Party leaders and militant unionists, on charges of "seditious conspiracy." Presentation of the prosecution's case, stated the Attorney General's office, will take "from ten days to two weeks."

The jury of twenty men and three women is almost entirely made up of residents from rural areas. Not a single resident of Minneapolis is on it.

The American Civil Liberties Union has sent a telegram of protest to Acting Attorney General Biddle, urging "reconsideration" of the prosecution and terming it "obviously dangerous to the preservation of democracy." As for the statutes under which the indictments are sought, the Civil Liberties Union characterized them as "hostile to constitutional guarantees and in our judgment the statutes could not withstand a court test."

Meanwhile the State Labor Board yesterday began holding hearings on the demand of Local 544-CIO that elections be held in every section of the trucking industry to establish the democratic wishes of the workers on what union they wish to belong to. Tobin's AFL crew is attempting to obstruct the holding of such elections.

MINNEAPOLIS, June 30—The Federal Government sliced into the tense and turbulent trade-union struggle in the Twin Cities when two separate squads of U.S. marshals and FBI agents raided the Minneapolis and St. Paul headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party last Friday.

The raiders carried off several boxes full of THE MILITANT, "The Fourth International" and other Trotskyist publications, two Socialist Workers Party flags, photos of Lenin and Trotsky, and literary material on public sale at the party offices.

These raids were made after Daniel J. Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters, had called on his political boss, President Roosevelt, to help him crush Local 544-CIO, the Minneapolis truck-drivers.

After Tobin's vicious red-baiting attacks, his 300 imported hoodlums, and his pack of International and AFL officials on the spot had failed to smash Local 544-CIO, Roosevelt, following up his public declaration of June 13 against the Minneapolis teamsters, ordered the Department of Justice to take action against the union and its leadership.

FBI MEN POUR IN

Accordingly FBI men were sent into the Twin Cities, followed by Henry A. Schweinhaut, special assistant U. S. attorney-general, who arrived early in the week to take charge of the raids and prosecutions.

The FBI search warrants stated, as pretexts for the raids, that books by "Karl Marx, Lenin, Felix Morrow and Leon Trotsky" were on sale at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters. All of these books are sold by many bookstores and circulated by hundreds of libraries throughout the United States.

INDICTMENTS ARE NEXT

Immediately after the raids, Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle, who had authorized them, announced in Washington that criminal proceedings for alleged "seditious conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government of the United States by force and**

(Continued on page 3)

SWP Demands Stalin Release Political Prisoners

The release of all the Trotskyist and other pro-Soviet political prisoners, so that they may be able to take their rightful place in the front ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Union, was demanded of Stalin by the Socialist Workers Party, in a telegram sent Tuesday.

Addressed to Constantine Oumansky, Soviet Ambassador at Washington, the telegram asked him to convey the following message to Premier Joseph Stalin:

"Trotskyists all over the world, now as always, are solidly for the defense of the Soviet Union. In this hour of grave danger to the achievements of the October revolution, we demand that you release all Trotskyist and other pro-Soviet political prisoners who are now in jails and in concentration camps, to enable them to take their proper place in the front ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Union. Your crushing of workers' democracy has increased the terrible danger to the Soviet Union. We demand the revival of Soviet democracy as the first step in strengthening the struggle against German Nazi imperialism and the capitalist world.

JAMES P. CANNON,
National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party

Among the political prisoners in Stalin's concentration camps are thousands of Red Army officers trained by Marshal Tukhachevsky (shot in 1937), who ably reorganized the Red Army on Blitzkrieg lines.

The best of the Bolsheviks are dead, murdered by Stalin. The most supreme tragedy of all for the Soviet Union is that Leon Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, was murdered on August 20, 1940 by Stalin's GPU. The rest of Lenin's Political Committee was destroyed by Stalin in the Moscow Trials.

But those political victims who survived and who are now in concentration camps and jails are available and willing to defend the Soviet Union. They must be released! Every worker should raise his voice to demand that these, the best defenders of the Soviet Union, be permitted to take their place in the front ranks.

FBI Raiders Seized Lenin-Trotsky Pictures, Books

Seized Material In Trotskyist Branches Which Can Be Bought In Thousands Of Bookstores And News-stands Anywhere

MINNEAPOLIS, June 30—Four FBI agents entered the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party about five o'clock Friday afternoon. They were armed with a search warrant issued by Howard S. Abbot, United States Commissioner in Minneapolis, on instructions of Victor Anderson, U. S. District Attorney in St. Paul, authorizing them to seize literature by "Marx, Lenin, Felix Morrow, and Trotsky," and other "seditious and revolutionary" writers who allegedly advocated the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence.

They handed the warrant to one of the four people present and then proceeded to scoop up all the periodicals, pamphlets, and books on display for public sale at the Labor Book Shop section of the headquarters. They dumped the confiscated literature into cardboard boxes and carried them downstairs.

TAKE TROTSKY-LENIN PHOTOS

In addition to copies of THE MILITANT and "Fourth International," the G-men seized photos of Lenin and Trotsky, two flags bearing the insignia of the Socialist Workers Party, and various books on the revolutionary and labor movements.

The officials had no warrants for arrests and made no effort to hold the four people present, one of whom was Grace Carlson, state organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, who received almost 9,000 votes for U. S. Senator on the "Trotskyist Anti-War" ticket in the November elections.

When Grace Carlson protested against this Gestapo invasion of the party offices, one of the FBI men said: "I believe in Socialism, too, only you people are going about it in the wrong way."

The FBI encountered difficulty and delay in getting a truck to cart away the confiscated property. Whereupon Grace Carlson taunted them: *"And you people want to run this country!"*

The raid on the St. Paul headquarters of the party took place about an hour afterwards.

In a statement issued the next day, Grace Carlson said:

"We believe that the raid on our headquarters by the FBI was unwarranted.

"We shall move through the proper legal channels to recover our property.

"Meanwhile we expect to have business go on as usual.

"A class will be held tonight at the Minneapolis headquarters to which the public is invited. The topic for discussion will be 'The Revolutionary War of 1776'."

Despite the attempts of the Minneapolis press to heighten the "red scare" by headlines such as the *Star-Journal's* "Socialist Workers In City Defy U. S. In Sedition Probe," business did go on as usual with the SWP. About fifty people attended the regular Saturday evening class at the headquarters and held a social session afterwards.

The Socialist Workers Party does not intend to be in the slightest intimidated by any government threats or persecutions. It is fully prepared to defend its democratic rights as a legal and open political organization. It proposes to intensify its activities and build up around itself and its anti-war program an even more powerful movement of the working class in the Twin Cities and throughout the Northwest.

MINNEAPOLIS, June 29 — Some of the press comment on the FBI raids on Trotskyist headquarters in St. Paul and Minneapolis seems to be compounded of a combination of sensationalism and involuntary admiration of the steadfastness of the Trotskyists.

"Trotskyists Hold Meeting as Announced in Face of FBI," is the headline on a story in the Sunday *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, reporting the holding of the regular bi-monthly Saturday class at the Minneapolis party headquarters.

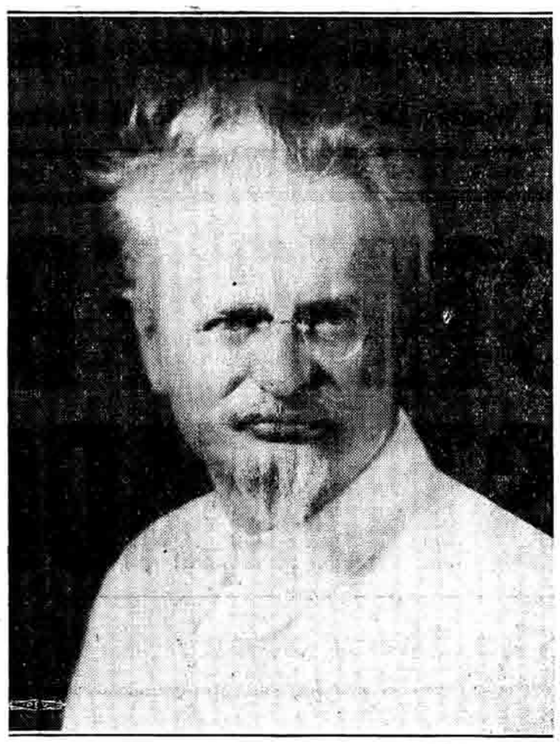
"Business went on as usual at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters which was raided by FBI agents Friday night," the story begins. The fact that the lecturer of the evening happened to be a Harvard graduate, and that the lecture was one on "The Revolutionary War of 1776," seemed to amaze the *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, which apparently couldn't make these facts fit in with its own notion of Bolsheviks as long-haired, bearded tramps.

Some of the pictures published in the press have a humor unintended by the hostile newspapers. One shows a U. S. Marshal, who looks as though he finds it difficult to spell out words, painfully perusing a copy of the "Fourth International" monthly magazine of the Socialist Workers Party. Another marshal is perplexedly looking at photos or portrait photos of Leon Trotsky and Lenin which he had been ordered to confiscate.

"If this be radical, it looks cozy" is the head over a picture of the pleasant reading room a the Minneapolis headquarters.

While FBI agents are talking darkly about the "secrets" in the papers and books they seized, news-stands along Hennepin Avenue continue as usual to carry the Trotskyist press. Interested workers are also finding plenty of Trotskyist literature at the Minneapolis and St. Paul libraries, while students are finding duplicates of all seized items at the University of Minnesota library.

This Is Now FBI "Evidence"



This is the picture of Leon Trotsky which FBI agents snatched from the walls of the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party last week. This is part of the "evidence" which the government will use in its attempt to frame-up leaders of General Drivers Union Local 544-CIO on charges of "seditious conspiracy."

Socialist Workers Party Telegram To Attorney General Biddle

Mr. Francis Biddle
Acting Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Newspapers carry your announcement that you are instituting criminal charges of seditious conspiracy against leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. We protest vigorously against this unwarranted and preposterous action. Since when is it a conspiracy for workers to get together for the purpose of struggling to improve their conditions and introduce a social system where there is no fascism, unemployment or war? This is the aim of the Socialist Workers Party and it is not a conspiracy. The party has been an open party since its inception. Its papers, magazines and literature in general can always be obtained at newsstands, bookshops and our branches without any search warrants or raids. Your statement that we use unions "for illegitimate purposes," is a vicious falsehood. Our members are active trade unionists only because they are interested in the cause of the workers. The fact that you felt it necessary to state that your prosecution is not an attack on organized labor or an effort to interfere in a dispute between labor organizations shows how glaringly obvious is your real purpose. Your purpose is to prevent thousands of workers from carrying out their democratically expressed desire to change from the AFL to the CIO. Your purpose in this prosecution is to give aid to the Minneapolis employers and to Tobin. The prosecution is a violation of the elementary principles of democracy for which this government claims to be fighting against the German Nazis. We demand that you cease interfering with the rights of trade unions and immediately cease this unjustifiable prosecution.

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party
ALBERT GOLDMAN, Attorney for
Socialist Workers Party

War Chest Must Be Filled To Meet New Events

A total of $572 came in the past week for the War Chest, with Detroit sending in the biggest item, $241. The other main items were Newark's $81; New York's $89; Minneapolis' $80. Among the smaller branches Reading stands out like a lighthouse, its $19 this week putting it way out in front.

We're one-third over the top now.

All this is fine—for pre-Blitzkrieg days. Now, however, we have to have entirely new standards of performance. And we'll have them too in the next two weeks, we're certain.

This party is always at its best in a fight, and we are certainly not lacking battlefronts! Everywhere our comrades are carrying our message calling upon the workers to defend the Soviet Union by class struggle methods. And everywhere our comrades are girding for the struggle to defend labor's democratic rights against the FBI raids and court prosecutions which are beginning in Minneapolis but will spread, unless we rouse the American labor movement to full realization of the dangers of wartime dictatorship.

$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
Reading	$ 25.00	$ 32.85	131%
Portland	30.00	20.00	67
Detroit	500.00	326.00	65
St. Paul	300.00	165.00	55
Buffalo	60.00	32.00	53
Louisiana	25.00	13.00	53
Newark	500.00	231.00	45
Cleveland	150.00	67.00	45
Boston	350.00	152.50	44
St. Louis	25.00	10.00	40
Akron	50.00	20.00	40
Flint	200.00	70.00	35
Philadelphia	125.00	42.00	33
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	334.33	30
Chicago	1200.00	334.62	28
Minneapolis	1200.00	330.50	28
New York City	2500.00	635.28	25
San Diego	100.00	25.00	25
Quakertown	25.00	6.00	24
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
Pittsburgh	40.00	7.00	18
Youngstown	150.00	10.00	8
New Haven	50.00	3.50	7
Los Angeles	500.00	25.00	5
South Chicago	125.00	0.00	0
Milwaukee	55.00	0.00	0
Rochester	50.00	0.00	0
Seattle	25.00	0.00	0
Texas	20.00	0.00	0
Baltimore	10.00	0.00	0
Toledo	10.00	0.00	0
Members-at-Large	475.00	430.00	91
TOTALS	$10,000.00	$3327.58	33%

GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR PRESS

On the arena of working class international politics the attack upon the Soviet Union has placed us in the unique position of being the only working class party conducting a campaign of defense of the October Revolution on a class foundation.

In the sphere of national trade union activity, the employe government-Tobin assault upon Minneapolis demands of us that we stand in the forefront of defenders of working class interests.

Leon Trotsky always insisted that the pursuit of principled politics, though it may on occasion bring apparent isolation and profound misunderstanding, will ultimately reap a reward when the decisive moment arrives. The scientific validity of this view has been proven by the experiences of the last few weeks.

Once more our loyal mailing crew — made up largely of seamen — toiled and sweated until dawn to send out one of the heaviest mailings of our history. Telegrams asking for additional orders came in steadily until the very moment of mailing. Every unit of the party and every comrade felt that this was the moment for which he had been waiting for years.

And if we may be so crass as to estimate values also in the medium of money, we can proudly say that at least two of our branches sent in payments for their enlarged bundles before the business office had even submitted bills!

Negro March Leaders Yielded to FDR

In Calling Off Protest Against Jim Crowism, Randolph Betrayed People

By ALBERT PARKER

The Negro March on Washington, scheduled for July 1, has been called off.

Thousands of Negroes, preparing to leave for the demonstration, with the promises of the official March leaders still ringing in their ears, at the last minute heard A. Philip Randolph, over the radio Saturday night, declare that "the March is unnecessary at this time" and therefore the committee in charge has called it off.

Thus ended a hectic ten day period during which the Roosevelt administration had used every ace it had up its sleeve and which ended in the March being called off only because the Randolph-White leadership was willing to "compromise" and call it off if they were offered something they could use to save face before the thousands who insisted on the March going through until all their demands were granted. Roosevelt finally granted them this face-saving device in his "executive order" of June 25.

Last week THE MILITANT reported that the leaders of the March were being subjected to all kinds of pressure from their "friends" in the administration, but that they were forced to resist it because nothing concrete had been offered them as a bribe to call off the March. Then Randolph and Walter White were called to Washington.

ROOSEVELT'S LINE

Here, at a conference attended by many government officials, Roosevelt condescended to give his own views on the March.

He declared that the March was bad and unintelligent. He said that the March would give the impression to the American people that Negroes are seeking to exercise force to compel the government to do certain things and that this attitude would do more harm than good.

(What the Negroes are really trying to get the government to do is to live up to the laws of the United States, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights which are supposed to guard all races against discrimination!)

Although Randolph pointed out that the demands of the marchers were completely just and reasonable, Roosevelt persisted that it was a grave mistake and would not accomplish the object sought, but on the contrary might create serious trouble. He did not state what this serious trouble was, nor who would create it. "What would happen if Irish and Jewish people were to march on Washington?" was the kind of argument he used.

Roosevelt refused to speak to the marchers, claiming that it is his policy not to talk to any groups who come to Washington. White replied that the president had spoken before the American Youth Congress a little over a year ago. Roosevelt became a little confused and said, "And you see what happened, too," referring to the fact that he had been booed by part of his audience.

FDR DEFENDS JIM CROW

When it was pointed out to Roosevelt that Negroes in the Navy are permitted to serve only in the most menial and low-paid capacities, his reply was that the stokers on the ships performed even more menial work than the messmen. *He deliberately avoided the point that white men, who serve as stokers, can also serve elsewhere, while Negroes are not permitted to serve anywhere but in the mess department.*

Roosevelt then rose to go, saying that he wanted to see discrimination against Negroes eliminated in the war industries, and that he wanted the conference to continue without him. He suggested that perhaps much could be accomplished along these lines if a board were set up which would receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in industry.

SIDNEY HILLMAN'S ALIBI

Sidney Hillman claimed progress was being made by his office in breaking down discrimination. He was then asked if his office would withdraw a contract from a business concern that practiced discrimination. He evaded the question by saying that there are many factors involved and that "national defense has to come first."

In other words, the preparations for a fake war for democracy abroad are more important to him than the question of democracy at home.

KNUDSEN'S LINE

Knudsen stated that he did not think an executive order necessary, that "more can be done through persuasion and education than through force."

This is the administration's attitude when it comes to dealing with the employers, but not when it comes to dealing with the workers, as was shown in the governmental strike-breaking at Inglewood, California.

SECRETARY KNOX'S POLICY

Then Secretary of the Navy Knox said he wanted to ask Randolph a direct question and that he hoped he would receive an honest reply. "Do you take the position that Negro and white sailors should be compelled to live together on ships?" Randolph replied in the affirmative, and Knox stated lamely that "in time of national defense, experiments of this kind cannot be carried on."

Here better than anything else is an indication of where the administration really stands on Jim Crowism. For if the head of the Navy believes that it is a dangerous experiment for Negro and white to work together on ships, how can anyone expect the administration to be sincere in its efforts to see to it that Negro and white work together in the factories?

A committee headed by LaGuardia was finally set up to make recommendations to Roosevelt, but as the conference ended it was still clear that no gains had been made, and Randolph again issued a statement that the March was still to be held.

The March leaders were under pressure not only from Roosevelt, but also from the masses supporting the March and insisting that it be carried out unless their full demands were granted.

These full demands were for the abolition of discrimination by the employers in industry and by the government in all its departments, including civil service jobs and the armed forces. The form of the demand was that Roosevelt should instruct the OPM, through a presidential proclamation or "executive order," to withhold contracts from those companies practicing discrimination; and by virtue of his power as president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces to order an end to discrimination in all governmental departments.

RANDOLPH CAVES IN

On the evening of June 25, as the important Harlem March committee was making its final preparations for the March and a demonstration at New York City Hall before that, a telegram arrived from Randolph proclaiming "victory" and ordering the March to be held up.

Instead of securing the agreement of the local committees to calling off the March, Randolph went on the radio Saturday evening.

In his address, entitled "A Pledge of Unity," he declared that the March was "unnecessary at this time" and then referred to and quoted an "executive order" issued by Roosevelt on June 25. He explained that the Committee had been intent on going through the March until they got something with "teeth in it." Now they had the "executive order."

WHAT RANDOLPH GOT

In the order Roosevelt says:

"I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin;

"And it is hereby ordered as follows:"

1. "All governmental agencies "concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures" to assure such programs are administered without discrimination;"

2. "All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin";

3. "There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice" consisting of five members to be appointed by the President. "The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid."

WHAT NEGROES DIDN'T GET

It does not require great study of this document to understand that while it certainly is an executive order, it is not the executive order demanded by the Marchers.

The most obvious shortcomings in the document are that it refers only to "defense" industries; it does not say a word about discrimination and segregation in the governmental departments and in the armed forces. Even Randolph had to recognize this in his speech.

But Randolph says nothing about the fact that the order refers only to contracts "hereafter negotiated" and thus leaves untouched the 15 billion dollars worth of contracts already negotiated.

But even this is not the main point.

The order provides that future contracts must have a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate. That is all right. But the question is — and this goes to the heart of this particular problem — suppose the contractor gets the contract containing this provision, and continues to practice discrimination?

What will happen then?

The answer is: The contract will not be withdrawn. This was what was asked of Roosevelt. The fact that he didn't include it in his order is proof that contracts won't be withdrawn.

We have a direct precedent for our answer to this question. When the different departments of the government negotiate contracts nowadays, they include a clause providing that the contractor must live up to federal laws, including the National Labor Relations Act, Walsh-Healy Act, etc. *Yet it is a well-known fact that the army and navy have refused to withhold contracts from bosses, who consistently violate these laws.* The whole labor movement has fought time and again to get the government to withhold or withdraw contracts from such anti-labor employers. The government has the power to do so, according to the laws — but it has always refused to use them.

NO REAL VICTORY

That is why we can say categorically that if the government would not crack down on the employers for violating the labor laws, it certainly won't crack down on them for violating the president's executive order "abolishing" discrimination. You see they are concerned first and foremost about "national defense" and "uninterrupted production." If this is the case, and all the evidence points that way, then the March was called off without anything fundamental having been won.

We could understand, although we would not agree to it, calling off or postponing the March for tactical reasons, after winning a partial victory that would meanwhile build up and maintain the morale of the Negro people.

But nothing was won, nothing at all, but a recognition by Roosevelt that a problem exists and an executive order that changes nothing basic and sets up the 88th committee to investigate and recommend.

DAMNED BY OWN WORDS

Everything Randolph and White said a week ago about the memorandum still applies today. "It is not a proclamation or executive order which would give assurance of discontinuance of discrimination." "What Negroes want now is action, not words."

Randolph last week said: "Let the masses speak!" But now he says, "I'll decide the questions, not you." Randolph said, "Let the masses march!" Now he says, "It is unnecessary at this time." Randolph stands condemned by his own words. If there is anyone who still doubts this, let him go back into the files and read the statements Randolph made when he declared the March was necessary.

KEEP COMMITTEES INTACT

Partly in order to cover up his own betrayal of the March, Randolph has called "upon the Negro March on Washington Committees in various sections of the country to remain intact in order to watch and check how industries are observing the executive order the President has issued."

We of the Socialist Workers Party also want to warn the members of the local committees that their job is far from done.

Do not disband your committees, but on the contrary, build them stronger and larger. Get more members, more organizations, more trade unions to join in the fight. The mere threat of a March frightened Washington half out of its wits. Further organization, careful study of the problems involved, greater militancy will bring real concessions.

NO MORE SELLOUTS!

And in addition to building the committees, the rank-and-file Negroes must take some steps to see to it that they are not again sold out. This movement does not belong to Randolph and Co. It belongs to the Negro masses, to those who contributed their time and their money to building up the movement — without which Randolph would not have been permitted to enter even the back door of the White House.

The movement belongs to the masses, and it is they who must decide its policies. This time Randolph cannot complain that there is no time for such things. Let the masses decide the policies of the movement, and let them select its leaders, let them appoint people whom they can trust to follow out their directions and aspirations.

Union-Busting FBI Raids SWP Headquarters

Moves To Indict Party Leaders, Union Militants

(Continued from page 1)

violence" would be instituted against leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

"The principal Socialist Workers party leaders against whom prosecution is being brought are also leaders of 544-CIO in Minneapolis," added Biddle. "This prosecution," Biddle said, "is brought under the criminal code of the United States against persons who have been engaged in criminal seditious activities, and who are leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and have gained control of a legitimate labor union to use it for illegitimate purposes."

CRUDE ANTI-UNION MOVE

Biddle tried to disclaim the fact that the persecution is really aimed at the CIO union by adding: "The prosecution is not in any sense an attack on organized labor nor is it an effort to interfere in a dispute between labor organizations. It presents only the determination of the department of justice to prosecute criminal subversive activity wherever it may occur."

Everyone familiar with the situation in the Twin Cities, however, knew better. The first headline reporting the raids in the St. Paul Dispatch read: "*U. S. To Prosecute 544.*" This caption, which gave the government's game away too plainly, was replaced by a different one in the second edition.

The Federal officials themselves admitted, according to the June 28 Minneapolis "Star-Journal" that, although Socialist Workers Party members have been under investigation by FBI agents for several months, "the criminal proceedings were stimulated by bolt of former leaders of General Drivers' union 544 from AFL to CIO."

CIO BLASTS RAID

The CIO immediately issued a statement declaring that "The demonstrative Friday raid by the FBI on headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in the Twin Cities and public announcement by the United States Department of Justice threatening indictments and inferring that leaders of Local 544-CIO are involved is nothing but a smear campaign against the CIO.

"Unable to bend the workers to his will by other vicious tactics he has employed, Dan Tobin has persuaded Roosevelt to carry out this action in payment for his political debt to Tobin for past services rendered. It is deplorable that the functions of the U. S. Department of Justice have been perverted in this reprehensible manner."

The CIO statement charged that Tobin had served notice upon the officers and members to "give unequivocal support to Roosevelt's war policies under threat of reprisals against them by Tobin if they failed to comply."

(The full text of the CIO statement is printed on page 3 of this issue).

The CIO statement added that "Telegrams, welcoming the motor transport and allied workers of Minneapolis into the CIO and pledging assistance in the fight against the dictatorial actions of Tobin are pouring in from all sections of the CIO." These telegrams will be read at the big mass meeting the CIO plans to hold in defense of Local 544-CIO this Tuesday, the day Grand Jury indictments will be asked in St. Paul

NATIONAL CIO SPEAKERS

Featured speakers scheduled to be heard at this meeting include Michael Widman, Jr., National Director of the CIO's victorious Ford Organizing Campaign; Lee Pressman, General Counsel for the CIO; Frank Barnhart, Regional Director of the UCWOC; Vincent R. Dunne and Ray Rainbolt, 544 committee which recently returned from Washington where they held a series of conferences with A. D. Lewis, head of the UCWOC, and other CIO officials, mapping out plans for the organization of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers in the Northwest.

REACTIONARIES PRAISE RAID

Lester M. Hunt, sent to Minneapolis as Tobin's personal public relations agent, showed the connection between the raid and Tobin's game when he said: "Friday's step (the raid) justified Tobin's action in the 544 dispute. Tobin charged these fellows were engaged in subversive activities but before he could proceed further they bolted and began their hue and cry about dictatorial tactics."

Republican Governor Harold E. Stassen, who has been collaborating with Tobin and the Minneapolis employers in their fight against Local 544-CIO, said he was "pleased that action has been started against the subversive elements. Our State department has been co-operating with the Federal Government in this matter."

STALINISTS HELP REACTION

The cowardly and treacherous Stalinists hastened to add their blow against 544-CIO when Carl Winter, State Secretary of the Minnesota Communist Party, issued a statement Saturday night, saying:

"The Trotskyites are at the opposite pole from the Communists and are a discredit to the labor movement. Rank and file labor is learning the treacherous, misleading role of the Trotskyites and will free themselves from them without government interference."

Leonard Lageman, Stalinist Secretary of the so-called Minnesota State CIO Council, went even further than Winter, saying that the federal government action "justifies our action in refusing to have anything to do with the Dunnes."

LEWIS DEFENDS 544 LEADERS

On the other hand, a spokesman in Washington for A. D. Lewis, President of the UCWOC-CIO which had chartered Local 544-CIO, made the following statement in Lewis' behalf:

"If the leadership of 544 was good enough for the Teamsters union of the AFL for many years, why is the Justice Department action taken now instead of earlier?

"Is it customary for the Justice Department to announce in advance it is seeking an indictment? If they have the evidence, why do they not obtain indictments and then make arrests?

"The change in affiliation by the old leadership of the teamsters union was not a raid by the CIO. They came to the CIO and asked for a charter. Workers have a right to choose between unions and on this basis, the CIO has asked for a labor board election to settle the matter by the democratic process."

Tobin, the AFL, Roosevelt, the FBI, and the Minneapolis bosses want to settle the AFL-CIO controversy, not by consulting the democratic will of the workers involved, but by deposing the union leaders on trumped-up criminal prosecutions.

PRETEXT FOR INDICTMENTS

The principal basis for the prosecution, the Department of Justice announced, is a Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at its foundation convention held in January, 1938.

The pertinent phrases in this Declaration were given by the Acting Attorney-General Biddle as follows:

"If, in spite of the efforts of the revolutionists and the militant workers, the U. S. government enters a new war, the SWP will not, under any circumstances, support that war but will, on the contrary, fight against it.

"The SWP will advocate continuance of the class struggle during the war regardless of the consequences for the outcome of the American military struggle, and will try to utilize the war crisis for the overthrow of U. S. capitalism and the victory of socialism."

MAY INDICT 25

Other than pointing his finger at the 544-CIO leaders, Biddle refused to specify who will be indicted when the Grand Jury meets on Tuesday. The *Minneapolis Star-Journal* reported Sunday that "upwards of 25 indictments may be asked and at least 100 witnesses will be questioned." The hearings themselves might last as long as two weeks, authorities indicated.

Biddle announced that the prosecution of the Twin City labor leaders will be under the direction of Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney-General in charge of the criminal division. Evidence will be presented to the Grand Jury by Victor E. Anderson, U. S. District Attorney and Henry A. Schweinhaut, Assistant Attorney-General, who had charge of the raids.

A "NATIONWIDE DRIVE"

Biddle also stated that the prosecution was the first step in a nation-wide drive against "dangerous radicals." "It is a fair inference," said Department of Justice officials in Washington Friday, according to the St. Paul Pioneer Press, "that the St. Paul prosecutions may be followed by others in other parts of the country."

The prosecutions will be brought, said Department of Justice officials, under Sections 6, 9 and 10 of Title 18 of the U. S. Code.

Section 6 of the code makes it a criminal offense to conspire to overthrow by force the government of the United States.

Section 9 makes it a criminal offense to undermine loyalty, discipline or morale of the armed forces of the United States.

Section 10 makes it unlawful to advocate overthrow of the government by force or violence.

Maximum sentences under this act are $5,000 fine and five years imprisonment.

The government's intervention in the local trade union situation has stirred the Twin Cities to its depths. It has swept other war news off the headlines here for days. The radio has been humming with reports of the developments.

BALDLY ANTI-LABOR

In a dispatch from Washington on Saturday, the St. Paul *Pioneer-Press* pointed out the national significance of the prosecutions started here:

"The determination to use criminal prosecution to imprison leaders regarded as dangerous throws into action one of the greatest weapons of the Federal government. With this and the use of troops when necessary to break up strikes, the government has a sweeping double method against undermining of the defense program."

THE PIONEER-PRESS ADDED

"Grim determination to push the case to a swift conclusion was shown by Justice department officials. *The case aroused immediate and intense attention in Washington and dwarfed all other national news of the day.*"

The most militant and progressive sections of the trade union movement here are well-aware of the union-busting and anti-labor nature of the government's action and are preparing to combat this threat to their existence. Moreover, all the real opponents of Roosevelt's war policies are rallying to the support of the Socialist Workers Party in its fight against the unjust, illegal, and undemocratic persecutions instituted by the FBI.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

CIO's Statement Lashes FBI Raid On Trotskyists

MINNEAPOLIS, June 28—The following is the full text of the statement issued today by Frank Barnhart, regional director of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, and personal representative of A. D. Lewis:

The demonstrative Friday raid by the F.B.I. on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers party in the Twin Cities and the public announcement by the U. S. Department of Justice threatening indictments and inferring that leaders of Local 544-CIO are involved, is nothing but a smear campaign against the CIO.

Unable to bend the workers to his will by the other vicious tactics which he has employed, Dan Tobin has persuaded Roosevelt to carry out this action in payment of his political debt to Tobin for past services rendered. It is deplorable that the functions of the U. S. Department of Justice have been perverted in this reprehensible manner.

Not long ago, Tobin issued an ultimatum to the officers and members of the AFL Teamsters union ordering them to give unequivocal support to Roosevelt's war policies under threat of reprisals against them by Tobin if they failed to comply. Tobin devised this policy both as a service to Roosevelt and as a protective screen under which he hoped to maintain his arbitrary and dictatorial rule over the rank and file of his antiquated organization.

RIGHT TO OPPOSE WAR

A great majority of the membership of the AFL Teamsters union is opposed to Tobin's high-handed methods and moth-eaten organization policies. There are also many who are opposed to the war, especially in the Northwest area. This is not Hitler Germany. The United States is still a democracy. The people of this country still have a right to express their opinions about the policies of both Tobin and Roosevelt.

The arbitrariness of Dan Tobin is revealed with startling clarity in his bull-headed opposition to the demand of the CIO for collective bargaining elections by secret ballot under government supervision to give the motor transport and allied workers of Minneapolis a democratic opportunity to designate their choice between the AFL and the CIO. Under the law, as well as by every standard of common decency and justice, this is the workers' right. Yet Tobin has resorted to every conceivable tactic, including acts of violence against the workers, to deprive them of this legal and moral right.

CIO ENDORSES 544 LEADERS

The CIO did not raid Local 544. The membership of Local 544 in regular meeting assembled voted overwhelmingly to leave Tobin's horse-and-buggy organization and apply for a charter in the modern and progressive industrial union movement of the CIO. Before granting a charter to Local 544 the CIO made a careful investigation of the union and its leadership. As a part of this investigation, representatives of the CIO consulted the Minneapolis Police Department and were informed by them that the leaders of Local 544 had no criminal record and were not in any sense classed as labor racketeers. A further irrefutable evidence of the honorable record of the leadership of Local 544 is contained in the finding of Judge Carroll during the court hearings which involved an examination of all of the books, records, minutes contracts, financial transactions etc. of Local 544. This court examination which extended over a period of almost three years resulted in a finding by the Court which exonerated the leaders of Local 544 from the slanderous insinuations that had been leveled against them.

TOBIN'S FOUL TACTICS

Dan Tobin has had all of the facts about the leadership of Local 544 for many years. He has known of their union record and has been fully aware of their political beliefs. However, he did not see fit to press any charges against the leadership of Local 544 until they openly resisted his attempts to further entrench his dictatorial authority in the AFL Teamsters union and voted against his wholly undeserved $10,000 increase in annual salary.

When Tobin, a short time ago, raised the question of the political affiliations of some of the leaders of Local 544, he made it plain that he was going to use this false issue as a smokescreen for his campaign to remove the leadership of the union. Those few men involved voluntarily gave up their right to belong to a political organization of their own choosing and from resigned the S. W. Party in the interests of the fight to protect the union against Tobin's dictatorial assault. This did not deter Tobin for one minute. He continued to vigorously press for the installation of a dictator-receiver.

WORKERS CHOSE CIO

The membership of Local 544, confronted with this ultimatum from Tobin, voted overwhelmingly to leave his organization and apply for admission in the CIO. Tobin's goon squads have been unable to crush the spirit of Local 544-CIO. Neither can Tobin crush this union by running to Roosevelt to get his cooperation in a smear campaign against the CIO.

The CIO will continue to press its fight to win for the motor transport and allied workers of Minneapolis their democratic right to belong to an organization of their own choosing — the CIO.

DEFENSE MASS MEETING

Lee Pressman, general counsel for the CIO, who has had broad experience in the legal battles of the trade union workers to protect their democratic rights, will be the main speaker at the CIO mass rally at the Lyceum Theater, 82 South 11 Street, at 8:00 P. M. on Tuesday, July 1st.

Frank Barnhart, who will be the chairman of the Tuesday meeting, will give a further expansion of the CIO position in this controversy over radio station WMIN AT 8:45 P. M. on Monday, June 30th.

Telegrams welcoming the motor transport and allied workers of Minneapolis into the CIO and pledging assistance in the fight against the dictatorial actions of Tobin are pouring in from all sections of the CIO. These wires will be read at the Tuesday mass meeting.

What They Said About Finland--Then And Now

The bourgeois democrats are twisting themselves into knots trying to explain—or avoid explaining—how "poor, brave, little, democratic" Finland has wound up as the satellite of Hitler.

Only a year and a half ago, the present "allies" of the Soviet Union bewailed the fate of Finland and rushed to its aid. They denounced the Soviet Union in harsher terms than they have ever employed against Hitler.

THEN—AND NOW!

The New York *Times*, June 29, 1941, now calmly explains the background of the 1939 Soviet invasion of Finland as follows:

"The war was hardly under way before Soviet and Nazi interests appeared to conflict. Russia moved into the Baltic area that had long been regarded as a German sphere of influence. Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were drawn into the Soviet system, and German nationals were removed from the ancient 'buffer States.' In a still more DARING act the Russians invaded Finland, LONG A GERMAN FRIEND. Some observers declared that the Russians were trying to put as much territory as possible between themselves and the Germans." (Our emphasis.)

This dispassionate recital of the military-strategic reasons for the 1939 Soviet invasion of Finland is worth comparing with the original statement of the same *Times*, which declared on November 30, 1939:

"Accustomed as we are to shameless holdups of small nations, the case of the Finnish Republic is the most flagrant example to date of a completely unjustifiable attack on a brave little people whose single policy has been to avoid trouble with its neighbors, mind its own business and live in peace . . .

"ALTHOUGH LENINGRAD IS NOT MENACED FROM ANY QUARTER, the Finns have been willing to cede islands DISCOVERED SUDDENLY TO BE VITAL TO RUSSIAN DEFENSE. Yesterday they withdrew their troops at various points from the border. But no concession is enough for an aggressor determined to strike." (Our emphasis.)

Let the Times make its before and after statements jibe with each other—just try!

THE POST'S TWO LINES

The new York Post, a "liberal" newspaper, wrote on December 1, 1939:

"Finland, a true republic, has even established the economic equality of women by law.

"Stalin's ruthless attack on Finland, like Hitler's onslaught on Poland, springs solely from lust for empire." (Our emphasis.)

Today, the Post sings a different tune. It tries to "explain" Finland's partnership with Hitler, in an editorial, June 28, 1941, entitled "The Tragedy of Finland." This editorial is one of the finest examples of double-talk in the English language.

"Finland is the Belgium of the present war," says the POST. "As Belgium in 1914, Finland today is the road for attack by Germany, and Germany is ruthlessly marching through to get a short-cut to Leningrad.

"Everybody can understand that and can SYMPATHIZE with Finland's GEOGRAPHICAL misfortune . . ."

That's why Nazi troops are "ruthlessly marching through Finland"—side by side with Finnish troops in a JOINT assault on the Soviet Union.

But the CLASS factor has something to do with it after all, we find out from the next sentence in the POST:

"And when Germany started to land troops and mobilize along the Russian border, the choice was a cruel one. As between alliance with Germany and alliance with Russia, what could Finland do?"

What could bourgeois Finland do, indeed, as between supporting a workers' state or a fascist imperialist state?

The POST does not answer its own rhetorical question. But the answer is implied: "OF COURSE—Finland could only do what WE would have done under the circumstances — joined Hitler against the Soviet Union!"

WHAT BRAZEN CYNICISM!

Even so, the POST cannot quite bridge the gap between its former and present positions. Reluctantly, it says:

"Nevertheless, we feel that Finland's President Risto Ryti was spreading it excessively thick in his proclamation about 'great Germany, under her leader of genius, Reichsfuehrer Hitler.' And we feel that Finnish troops marching with the Nazis—against Russia or any other enemy—are marching to death, not for themselves so much as for their country."

But what can the Finnish masses do? The POST knows what they can do—and shudders. They can make a proletarian revolution; they can kick out the Finnish capitalists and landlords and the Finnish Social-Democratic leaders who defended "democracy" by supporting these capitalists against the Soviet Union. But from the standpoint of the POST that would be even worse than a Hitler victory. So the POST can merely conclude in the most cynical fashion:

"Pro-Finnish sentiment is a tender memory, but it can be checked for the duration."

WHAT FDR SAID THEN

Yes, indeed, the bourgeois democratic "pro-Finnish sentiment" is so "tender" a memory that it is sore to the touch.

At the risk of being charged with excessive cruelty we are going to touch a few of those memories.

Within 24 hours of the beginning of the Soviet invasion of Finland, President Roosevelt leaped to Finland's side with a formal statement declaring:

"The news of the Soviet naval and military bombings within Finnish territory has come as a profound shock to the government and people of the United States . . . It is tragic to see the policy of force spreading and to realize that wanton disregard for law is on the march . . .

". . . The people of Finland have a long, honorable and peaceful record which has won for them the respect and warm regard of the people and government of the United States."

That "long, honorable and peaceful record" which Roosevelt held in such "warm regard" was the record of the government of General Mannerheim, who, in 1918, drowned the Finnish workers' revolution in blood with the aid of British, French and German imperialist arms and troops.

The New York TIMES, December 1, 1939, declared of Roosevelt's statement:

"The significance of the pointed phrasing was enhanced by the fact that **this is the first time since the outbreak of the European war that the President has gone so far in expressing his disapproval of the politics of conquest. Even when Germany overran Poland, he did not issue such a statement . . ."**

TEETH IN FDR'S WORDS

On December 1, 1939, the State Department instituted a "moral embargo" against the Soviet Union. Pressure was exerted upon all manufacturers to refuse the sale or shipment of plane parts, machine tools, and other equipment to the Soviet Union.

An immediate moratorium was declared upon the Finnish debt to the United States—a debt contracted by the Finnish White Guard government during the war of intervention against the early Soviet Union.

Vast government and private capitalist credit was advanced to the Finnish government. A ten million dollar government loan was granted at once.

The bourgeois democratic press, the various bourgeois organizations, combined in a national fund-raising drive for Finland.

For once, the ruling class loosened its private purse strings. Millions of dollars were collected from the bankers and business men, from society halls, fetes, bazaars, cocktail parties and theatrical performances.

The State Department, unlike its obstructionism when the international brigades of volunteers went to aid Loyalist Spain, greased the way for the sending of "volunteer" troops to Finland.

BRITISH, FRENCH REACTIONS

Among those who went to save "democratic" Finland was Kermit Roosevelt, son of Theodore Roosevelt, who has just recently resigned his commission as major in the British Army. In reporting this resignation, the New York TIMES, June 27, 1941, reminds us:

"In early March, 1940, then a major, Mr. Roosevelt was named a colonel to lead the British contingent in the international expeditionary force to aid Finland, then at war with Russia."

The French capitalists, with a unity they could never command against Hitler, joined the all-out anti-Soviet incitement.

Terence Phelan, in his eyewitness account of the French defeat, (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, March 1941) describes how the French bourgeois democrats responded to the Soviet invasion of Finland:

"The main war was all but forgotten by the French government press, which positively howled for intervention against the USSR. For a moment the French bourgeoisie was temporarily united; Alpine troops were rushed to Scotland, ready to sail the moment Norway and Sweden gave permission; among the salonards there was gossip of projects for making peace with Germany in order to turn all force against Russia. And if Daladier did not carry out this project, it was not for lack of will but that, in the face of Norwegian and Swedish resistance and Germany's apparent unwillingness to cooperate, it was beyond his power."

THE FASCISTS ALSO!

The Italian Fascist press rose to the defense of "poor, little Finland" in words that might have been borrowed from the New York TIMES.

The following is from the Rome newspaper TELEGRAFO, November 29, 1939:

"If there is any example of international politics now in which the issues are most clear, in which the figure of the aggressor and that of the victim are well defined, in which the eternal truth of the ancient dialogues between the wolf and the lamb find the clearest reincarnation, it is this one."

The League of Nations—which had never got around to doing anything about Spain, China, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, etc., etc.,—declared the Soviet Union expelled from the League and denounced the invasion, at the same time initiating sanctions against the Soviet Union and facilitating the sending of troops and arms to Finland.

Abetting this combined world capitalist assault upon the Soviet Union were the "socialist" hangers-on of the bourgeois democrats. Norman Thomas's THE CALL, on December 16, 1939, blazoned the 8-column headline: "Finland's Fight: A World Cause!"

THE CALL justified aid to Finland, as follows:

"The White Guardist generals, including Mannerheim, were deprived of virtually all economic and political power when their estates were confiscated and divided. Mannerheim has played no role whatever in politics for many years."

The only role Mannerheim was playing when this was written was as the commander-in-chief of the Finnish White Guard army fighting the Red Army.

On December 23, 1939, THE CALL and Norman Thomas went even further:

"We believe that the democracy of Finland differs from that of England and France in degree of workers' control.(!) It is this, taken together with the fact that Finland has no imperialist ambitions and is free from any taint of colonial exploitation that is a determining factor in our attitude."

THE CALL then proposed "the formation of independent labor committees to aid Finland—in contrast to committees headed by capitalist politicians and perhaps (!) used by them for their own interests. We support the move for cancellation of Finland's debt."

Norman Thomas displayed none of his "pacifism" when it came to inciting the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. Today, THE CALL (July 5, 1941) proposes no "independent labor committees" in defense of the Soviet Union against Hitler. It's pacifism has now become "principled."

THESE ARE STALIN'S ALLIES

When the venal hirelings of the Kremlin now come to the workers and tell them to support the war efforts of Churchill, Roosevelt, and the bourgeois democrats, because the "character of the war has changed," let the workers beware! Nineteen months ago the bourgeois democrats were howling for the lifeblood of the Soviet Union. Tomorrow, these newfound "friends of the Soviet Union" will once more find the pretext and the means to continue their mortal struggle against the first workers' state.

The defense of the Soviet Union can be guaranteed only by the independent class struggle of the workers, against the Churchills and Roosevelts and all others of their capitalist breed, democratic or fascist.

The Initial Fruits Of The New Stalinist Turn

To Aid Wall Street's War, Overnight the C.P. Abandons Fight for Labor and Negro

By ART PREIS

A "before and after" summary of the concrete slogans and activities of the Communist Party, as revealed in the *Daily Worker* for the week immediately preceding the Nazi assault upon the Soviet Union, and the week after, bold-faces the extent of the latest Stalinist betrayal of the class struggle.

The Stalinists have surrendered the fight on every battleground—on workers' rights, on Negro rights, and against the "imperialist program of war-time suppression and economic degradation."

On June 17, William Z. Foster wrote a front-page editorial in the **Daily Worker** stating:

"... When President Roosevelt sent Federal troops against the aviation workers and broke their strike, it was a taste of the Hitleristic terrorism that Wall Street capitalists have in mind for the working class. These war-mongering imperialists, who dominate the Roosevelt Administration, are determined to compel the workers to accept lowered standards of living and restricted civil liberties, as part of their bigger plans to force the unwilling American people into a 'shooting' war.

"Roosevelt's use of troops at Inglewood was not an isolated act of impatience with these strikers, but a considered phase of a developing anti-labor policy."

WHAT FOSTER PROPOSED A WEEK AGO

What concrete conclusions did Foster draw from this absolutely correct analysis?

"Organized labor should draw the full political conclusions from Roosevelt's use of troops against the Inglewood strikers. It should realize that an Administration which commits such a monstrous act is an enemy of the workers and cannot be supported by them... Roosevelt's whole line, dictated by Wall Street, is contrary to the most basic interests of the masses of the people.

"Labor therefore, on pain of disaster, needs to break its alliance with the Roosevelt administration, in the so-called 'National Unity'. In its great new strength of more than 10,000,000 members, labor needs imperatively to begin an orientation toward independent political action, together with the farmers; against involvement in the imperialist war and in defense of the toilers' economic standards and civil liberties..."

WHAT BUDENZ SAID THE DAY HITLER STRUCK

On June 22, the day Hitler launched his attack on the Soviet Union, Louis Budenz, editor of the **Daily Worker**, explained the kind of political action the Communist Party advocated. Budenz declared:

"Thus, the warning of the Communist Party to labor—that the Roosevelt administration's engaging in war abroad also entailed warring upon the workers at home—takes on flesh and blood. Its truth is visible in life before the eyes of the workers.

"What does such realization oblige labor to do? It makes it imperative that the workers strive more vigorously to take this country out of war. It makes it urgent that they recognize the Roosevelt administration as their enemy, bound in 'national unity' against them with the Bourbons and the Republican Party. It puts upon the immediate order of business for the workers, **the inauguration of an anti-imperialist Farmer-Labor political party."**

The **Daily Worker**, June 18, four days before Hitler began his war on the Soviet Union, proclaimed editorially:

"The events of the past week —'labor's blackest week'—should serve to make more evident than ever the need for a new party of labor and the people... What is needed is leadership and the organizational work which can weld these masses together **in an anti-imperialist Labor-Farmer political party."**

On June 16, six days before the outbreak of the Soviet-Nazi war, the **Daily Worker** reported that the Stalinist-led left-wing of the New York American Labor Party was calling a city-wide convention to be held June 27-28 to consider "the most effective means in the September 16 primary of advancing the party's program, to promote the election of the most progressive, efficient and honest anti-war administration possible for the people of New York City."

WHAT THEY'VE ABANDONED SINCE JUNE 23RD

On June 30, the **Daily Worker**, in a tiny and obscure item announced the postponement of the ALP convention to July 10. No mention was made of anti-war candidates.

The **Daily Worker**, since June 23, the day after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, has not only discontinued all references to an "anti-imperialist" Labor-Farmer Party—it has ceased calling for "independent labor political action" altogether.

The entire week preceding the beginning of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, the **Daily Worker** was flooded with stories and union resolutions in denunciation of Roosevelt's strike-breaking use of federal troops and the administration's strike-breaking legislation and edicts.

The **Daily Worker**, June 21, featured a call by the "National Labor Committee against War, an American Peace Mobilization affiliate" asking all organized labor "to observe the week of July 27 to August 2 as 'National Peace and Labor's Rights Week.'"

Since June 23, the "National Peace and Labor's Rights Week" has disappeared completely from the **Daily Worker**, as have the "National Labor Committee Against War," the "American Peace Mobilization," and the resolutions and articles denouncing Roosevelt's strikebreaking.

On June 18, four days prior to the Soviet-Nazi war, the **Daily Worker** wrote in connection with the bulletin of Labor's Non-Partisan League which attacked the anti-labor acts of Roosevelt:

"The acts which the LNPL castigates arise directly from the entire war drive of the administration. They are bound up integrally with that war drive, as the **Daily Worker** has repeatedly stated..."

"The anti-labor barrage of the administration, moreover, is...a product of the 'national unity' which has welded together all the Wall Street monopolists in one common pro-war and anti-labor front..."

And what action does the **Daily Worker** now propose against this anti-labor drive "bound up integrally with the war drive"?

Since June 23, the **Daily Worker** has not printed a word about all its campaigns, committees, projects, resolutions, etc., etc., to defeat Roosevelt's anti-labor, strikebreaking war program.

WHAT STALINISTS THEN SAID ON FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

One of the principal points of the Communist Party program two weeks ago was the fight for Negro rights against discrimination in the war industries and the armed forces.

The Negro Job March on Washington, which had been planned for July 1, was criticised by the Stalinists, because they claimed the march did not have a militant-enough program.

The **Daily Worker**, June 16, featured an extensive article, which sharply denounced the leadership and motivation of the march on the following score:

"...(The March) is the supreme effort of America's big shot businessmen to win the masses of the Negro people for the war program of the Administration...

"Their supreme aim is to build up a nationalist movement among the Negro people, with Randolph as its leader, in an attempt to direct the healthy strivings of the Negro people for full equality, for full citizenship rights, into channels of support for the imperialist war...

"But this march on Washington can become a real demonstration for the rights of the Negro people. To become that, the Negro people while giving support to the March, must make their demands known. They must first of all demand their right to live, a demand that cannot be realized by those who, with support of an imperialist war program, are consciously betraying the Negro masses. Therefore the Negro people must make their sentiments known. Opposition to the imperialist war! Demand that our country get out and stay out of the war! End Jim Crow in the 'defense industries' and armed forces!"

On June 22, the day Hitler started his march against the Soviet Union, the **Daily Worker** correctly denounced the Social-Democratic New Leader for placing the blame for Negro discrimination on "the American people." The **Daily Worker** declared:

"This is a shameless whitewashing of the sinister anti-Negro capitalists who rule the country and want to plunge it into a shooting war... Who issued the order officially upholding jim-crowism in the armed forces, 'the American people' or President Roosevelt? Who continues to give contracts to 'defense' employers, who arrogantly refuse to employ Negroes, 'the American people' or President Roosevelt? Who refuses to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people, 'the American people' or President Roosevelt and the Department of Justice? To ask these questions is to answer them."

On June 17, the **Daily Worker** declared:

"The President is the fountainhead of this discrimination and set the pattern himself...

"...All of these and other vital rights of the Negro people and various minorities are being ruthlessly sacrificed by the President in the name of 'defense.'... The President spoke, therefore, not to end discrimination, which he could do, but to deceive the Negro people and their supporters into surrendering to the war program. Since this program is the root of the intensified violations of Negro rights, the fight against job discrimination necessitates opposition to every move of the President toward belligerency..."

James W. Ford, the Communist Party's "beloved leader" of the American Negroes, graced the front page of the June 17 **Daily Worker** with a solemn warning to the Negro masses:

"Backsliding on the part of the initiators of the March is in the making. With bitterness and fear Roosevelt and his agents are getting alarmed...The Negro people must continue their fight against the whole jim-crow set-up. They must not allow any backsliding and turn-coating on the part of the initiators of the March to Washington."

When Randolph did "backslide" and call off the march, one reason he could do so was that the Stalinists were now pro-Roosevelt. The **DAILY WORKER**, June 26, casually reported the fact in one paragraph in the middle of another story.

The **DAILY WORKER** and Ford have said not a word in criticism of this turn-coating. Since June 23, the **DAILY WORKER** has become dumb as a stone about the whole fight for Negro rights. Roosevelt has become a "defender" of the Soviet Union and is no longer, according to the Stalinists, the "fountainhead of this discrimination."

ABANDONING THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PROFITEERS

Prior to June 22, the **Daily Worker** conducted an elaborate campaign against the high cost of living, the war tax program, and war profiteering.

On the high cost of living, the **Daily Worker** wrote, June 20:

"A well organized national fight against the high cost of living is in order, taken up by the trade unions and community organizations. But such a fight has to be, at the same time, a campaign to get this country out of the war. Let the trade unions tell the nation **'to protect your living standards from high prices, you must battle against this war!'"** (Emphasis in original.)

On June 16, the **Daily Worker** said:

"Only the American people, and above all, the organized labor and progressive movement, **united in militant struggle, can defeat the war and hunger plans of the Administration."**

Since June 23, the **DAILY WORKER** has carried one small article and one weak editorial on the question of food profiteering and high prices. Both appeared on June 27. Neither made a single reference to the war! The rising prices and profiteering, according to the new line of the Stalinists, grow out of a vacuum.

When the **Daily Worker**, just two weeks ago, was stating that the intensification of labor suppression, the increase in Negro discrimination, the higher prices and taxes were a direct product of Roosevelt's imperialist war drive, and could be combated only by combatting that war drive, the **Daily Worker** spoke the truth.

Today, the Stalinists have dropped their opposition to the imperialist war drive and at the same time, naturally, have dropped their pretence of fighting for the rights of the workers and the oppressed minorities. Supporting the war drive, Stalinism must therefore support "the bitter consequences of the war drive." (**Daily Worker**, June 16).

SUNDAY WORKER, NEW YORK JUNE 22, 1941

BROWDER SAYS---

THE Roosevelt regime was inaugurated almost simultaneously with that of Hitler in Germany. Both arose from the same deep and catastrophic economic crisis of the capitalist world system, and the impossibility of finding any way out by "normal" means. THEY TOOK DIFFERENT PATHS, because the German bourgeoisie had united, with British support, upon the course of open brutal dictatorship to suppress the home population and intense preparation for foreign wars; whereas the American bourgeoisie split after a short period when it was in doubt which way Roosevelt was moving: the most reactionary section went in the Hitler direction while a "liberal" section rallied the masses to its support for a "liberal experiment" in progressive democratic and foreign policy to meet the crisis, which came to be identified as the "New Deal" and the "Good Neighbor" policies. Both of these are now dead. The Rooseveltism of the New Deal has capitulated to the reactionaries. The new Roosevelt course is essentially for America the same direction which Hitler gave for Germany in 1933. Unless it is halted, and a different course charted for our country, it can only have a similarly catastrophic end. In the name of the fight against Hitlerism, the American bourgeoisie boldly strikes out on the path of imitation. Its period of appeasement of the people has ended. Monopoly capital, dominating our society, has in the end no other answer to the questions raised by the crisis and breakdown of its economic system than that given in the past years by its European class brothers. It is the answer of black reaction and war.—*"The Communist Party of the U. S. A., Its History, Role and Organization," by Earl Browder. Pages 17-18.*

This is what Earl Browder said in the DAILY WORKER published the day Hitler began his war against the Soviet Union. He would be expelled from the Communist Party as a "Trotskyite" if he dared to say it now. Today the Stalinists are boosting Roosevelt as a "defender" of the Soviet Union.

Trotsky's Last Work

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

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The Balance-Sheet On Finland's Role

Finland's alignment with Nazi Germany in the imperialist assault upon the Soviet Union is the final item in the balance sheet of the Soviet invasion of Finland in December 1939.

The "democrats" and their "socialist" allies, then engaged in a frenzied orgy of anti-Soviet incitement and beat their breasts for "poor, little, democratic" Finland being attacked by "Red Imperialism." Against this hue and cry, our party held steadfast to its fundamental tenet:

"Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the capitalist world. Only agents of imperialism, standing for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, can desire defeat of the Red Army by the bourgeois Finnish outpost of the imperialist armies." (Statement of Policy by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, SOCIALIST APPEAL, December 9, 1939.)

At the same time, we condemned the invasion as a typical example of the bureaucratic methods of Stalinism. In the same statement of our Political Committee, we declared:

"Stalinist policy in the conflict with Finland is characteristic of Stalinist policy as a whole: the protection of the interests and privileges of the bureaucracy in utter disregard of the sentiments and interests of the world proletariat. The means and methods it employs to gain military and strategic advantages repel the sympathy and support of the workers and oppressed peoples, and thus undermine the real defense of the Soviet Union to such an extent as to outweigh by far the immediate military and strategic advantages that may be gained by the conflict with Finland. From this point of view—that is, the real defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialists—the Fourth International has always condemned the foreign policy of Stalinism and condemns it in the present situation. The real defense of the conquests of the October Revolution requires, now more than ever, an unceasing struggle of the workers for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by means of a political revolution."

Our Class Analysis of the Conflict

Our position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union flowed directly from our analysis of the *class* character of the contending states. The Political Committee statement based its position on this primary fact, as follows:

"The invasion of Finland by the Red Army is an incident in the Second World War which is now only in its tentative and initial stages of development.

"The *character* of the Second World War is that of an imperialist struggle for the redivision of the earth. Despite present alliances, or future changes in the alignment of the powers, the *class* antagonism between the imperialist states and the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers' state retains its full force.

"From this must follow an inevitable attempt on the part of the imperialists of one camp or another or in combination, to attack the Soviet Union in order to destroy the economic conquests of the October Revolution and open up the territory of the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation.

"Finland is not an independent small state fighting for independence against an imperialist power. Bourgeois Finland is and always has been a vassal state of the imperialists and an outpost of imperialism on the Russian border."

The capitalist democracies, still hoping then that Finland would be their ally rather than the ally of German imperialism, rushed to the defense of "poor, little, democratic" Finland. That is, they strengthened the present ally of Hitler, in their frantic efforts to strike a blow at the conquests of October 1917.

We Stood Our Ground

Our party stood its ground against this counter-revolutionary assault. We declared our program to be:

"No support, direct or indirect, to the imperialist government of the United States or its Finnish satellite. Expose and denounce the policy of Washington as political and diplomatic preparation for war against the Soviet Union. For bourgeois government against the Soviet Union. Expose and denounce the methods of Stalinism which compromise the Soviet Union and weaken its defense.

"For the Fourth Internationalists in Finland: revolutionary defeatism--the main enemy is in our own country! The *first* task of the Finnish workers remains an irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of their own bourgeoisie. Not a man, not a gun, not a cent for the war of the Finnish bourgeoisie government against the Soviet Union. Work for the defeat of the Finnish bourgeois government in the war. Aim at the creation of an independent Soviet Finland free from the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy . . .

"For the Fourth Internationalists in the Soviet Union: Soviet patriotism—the main enemy is world imperialism. Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the capitalist world . . . Irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which betrays the proletariat and undermines the defense of the Soviet Union. Against the military-bureaucratic annexation of Finnish territory. For the independence of Soviet Finland. Unceasing criticism and exposure of Stalinist methods of starting and conducting the war, but not the slightest relaxation of material and military support. The Fourth Internationalists in the Soviet Union will be the best soldiers in the Red Army and inspire it to victory over the imperialist bandits and the Stalinist betrayers." (*Socialist Appeal*, December 9, 1939).

Our indictment of Stalinism had nothing in common with those who ranted against the invasion as the act of an "aggressor," and an "imperialist."

Stalin's Real Crime In Finland

We declared that the invasion was a confession of Stalinist bankruptcy. We charged that the failure of Stalinism to win over the Finnish workers during a period of fifteen years, despite the revolutionary tradition of the Finnish workers and the close geographic position of Finland to Soviet Russia, compelled Stalin to resort to purely bureaucratic and external military means against the Finnish bourgeoisie.

In an editorial in the *Socialist Appeal*, December 16, 1939, we explained what Stalin's real crime against the working class was in Finland:

"Finland is an outpost of imperialism on the Russian border, a spearhead pointed at Leningrad. There is no question about that. How would real revolutionists, if they were at the helm of the Soviet Union, put an end to that hostile spearhead?

"They would solve it hand in hand with the Finnish working class. In the first instance, the Finnish working class itself would solve the problem. The Red Army of the Soviet Union would help them, if necessary. By making a socialist revolution, the Finnish workers would transform Finland from a bourgeois enemy into a proletarian ally of the Soviet Union. Then, if the imperialists attempted to destroy the Finnish Workers Republic, the Red Army of the Soviet Union would defend its proletarian ally.

"That's the way the problem would be solved—if revolutionists stood at the helm of the Soviet Union. Certainly the Finnish workers have shown that they want to make a socialist revolution. In 1918 they tried to make one. They were defeated, not by the Finnish bourgeoisie over whom they were victorious, but by German troops placed by the Kaiser at the service of Mannerheim's Finnish White Guards. After the German Revolution of 1918, the Finnish bourgeoisie remained in power thanks to the backing of English and French imperialism. Given the opportunity, it is certain that the Finnish workers would make their own revolution.

"But in the intervening fifteen years, the Finnish workers have been learning what has been happening across the border in the Soviet Union since Lenin died and a clique of usurpers entrenched themselves in the Kremlin. They have learned, and they shrank back from the Soviet Union of Stalin. That is when Stalin's crime against the Finnish workers began—15 years ago. He drove them back into the arms of the Finnish bourgeoisie.

"Stalin therefore could not appeal to the Finnish workers to protect Leningrad by making their own revolution. Nor would he issue such an appeal. For Stalin fears nothing so much as revolutions. If the horizon of the Soviet Union were ringed with red instead of brown and white, all the social hatred of the Soviet workers against the Stalinist clique would overflow and put an end to the Kremlin bureaucrats.

"So Stalin added to all his other crimes against the Finnish workers—which are the same crimes that he has committed against the workers everywhere—the crime of invading Finland against the will and desires of the international working class. For the sake of whatever military-strategic advantages he might gain as a result, he dealt a terrible blow to the most important defense of the Soviet Union: the faith and friendship of the international working class."

Stalinist Lies About Finland

Why hadn't there been a revolution in Finland? This question, which inevitably posed itself to the minds of all pro-Soviet workers, had to be answered. Stalin answered it—by inventing a "revolutionary government" in Finland! The Comintern press, which had not mentioned a revolutionary movement in Finland in years, turned up one morning with the announcement that Otto Kuusinen, who hadn't been in Finland in twenty years, was now head of a "People Government" and that peace would be signed with it. But in the end Stalin signed a peace with Mannerheim's government, and Kuusinen's government disappeared from the Comintern press—the only place it had ever existed.

Stalin's invasion of Finland was a crime; what made it worse were the lies used to justify it.

The invasion of Finland was undertaken in fear of Hitler and to secure military defenses against Hitler. But Stalin dared not tell this simple truth. Only a few months before he had signed the pact with Hitler.

Stalin attempted to justify the invasion with transparent lies. He charged that Finnish troops had "attacked" the Soviet territory "first," and his invasion was a "defense" against Finnish military attack. He heaped invective on French and British imperialism, and made it appear as though it was against these capitalist nations alone that he was compelled to undertake the Finnish invasion. But about Hitler—he remained silent. To have done otherwise would have punctured Stalin's boasts about the pact guaranteeing secure friendship between the USSR and Nazi Germany.

These claims of Stalin were so obviously false that they alienated from the Soviet Union the sympathy of millions of workers.

Capitalizing upon the mass hatred of Stalinism, the bourgeois democrats sought to turn this hatred against the Soviet Union itself. This bourgeois democratic pressure forced its way even into our ranks, where it swayed a petty-bourgeois minority led by the renegade, James Burnham, and Max Shachtman.

Journey's End For Burnham-Schachtman

Some people wondered why the proletarian majority of our party denounced this petty-bourgeois minority in such harsh terms and finally expelled it from our ranks.

An examination of this group's position during the Soviet invasion of Finland, in the light of Finland's subsequent alliance with Hitler, shows how right was our irreconcilable hostility to this minority.

The minority's *Resolution on the Soviet-Finnish War* called our position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union a "political capitulation to Stalinism."

Borrowing further from the arsenal of the bourgeois democrats, this petty-bourgeois minority called the Soviet invasion of Finland an act of "imperialism" and accused the Soviet Union of "*integral participation in the imperialist war*, acting on the one side as a partner *in the Berlin-Moscow axis*, on the other *in furtherance of its own imperialist and expansionist aims.*"

The minority then drew the logical conclusion of their position and called for *defeat* of the Red Army. Today, they have reached the culminating point of their anti-Soviet position. Now they are opposed to the defense of the Soviet Union against Hitler.

Our Position Is Now Vindicated

Of all the political tendencies, capitalist or working class, the Trotskyists alone do not have to recant or conceal one single statement made during the Soviet invasion of Finland. The bourgeois democrats and "socialists" who went to the rescue of "poor, little, democratic" Finland, have no way of explaining the fact that Finland is today an ally of Hitler. The Stalinists, who whitewashed the menace of Hitler, now deliberately lie about their former position. And many who cried "Red Imperialism" then, are now direct enemies of the Soviet Union, denying it support against the imperialist attack of Hitler.

We Trotskyists alone dare to draw publicly the full balance sheet of the Soviet invasion of Finland.

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

By ALBERT PARKER

Negroes and the Soviet Union

Class conscious American Negroes must defend the Soviet Union against its imperialist enemies as part of their own struggle to abolish the system that starves, lynches, disfranchises and Jim Crows them in this country.

We do not pretend that the Soviet Union is an ideal country, where all problems have beeen solved, where socialism has been reached. Not at all. But it is a Workers' State, where power has been taken out of the hands of the employers and the landlords, where capitalist bosses no longer run the factories for their own profit, where the foundations for a better life have been laid.

It is true that political power in the Soviet Union is in the hands of a group of bureaucrats who attempt to use that power for themselves, instead of on behalf of the interests of the international working class. Things have changed since the days when Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian workers, and they have not changed for the better. But the Soviet Union is still a Workers' State, even though it is a weakened and distorted and degenerated one.

And as long as it is a Workers' State, as long as bosses do not have power there, it must be defended in its struggles against the capitalist world. For it to be defeated would mean an immense strengthening of the world capitalist system. Because then the capitalists would be able through their exploitation of the labor and resources of the Soviet Union to hold onto their power in Europe, the United States and the colonies for many years longer.

On the other hand, if the workers of the world keep the capitalists out of the Soviet Union and thus prevent them from getting the "breathing spell" the capitalists desire, it will be that much easier for the workers and exploited peoples of the world to make their own revolutions and set up their own Workers and Farmers Governments.

Like A Great Trade Union

The Soviet Union is like a large trade union, a workers' organization, which has fallen under the control of a group of reactionary bureaucrats who are concerned about the welfare, not of the union, but of themselves. These bureaucrats often make deals with the bosses behind the backs of the workers; they don't permit the workers to determine the policies of the union; they don't fight properly to raise wages and better conditions of the rank-and-file; they expel and even beat up militant workers who take the floor to oppose their policies.

In such a situation it is the job of advanced workers to seek the support of the majority of the members of the union to replace the conservative leadership of the union with a militant leadership that will restore democracy in the union and lead it in struggles against the bosses.

The bosses attack the union, and the bureaucrats, who will have no job if there is no union, are forced in self-defense to declare a strike against the bosses. What should be the attitude of all the members of that union, and of all other unions?

Their attitude must be to defend the union against the bosses, in spite of their sharp differences with the union bureaucrats. The main enemy is the bosses. If the bosses win, there will be no union and there will be no chance for the rank-and-file to improve their union and their conditions. If the bosses win, not only will the bureaucrats be kicked out, but the union, and the whole labor movement, will be weakened.

In the same sense, advanced workers, Negro and white, must call for the defense of the Soviet Union. If the imperialist powers win, they will carve up the Soviet Union in the same way the bosses would break up a union. It would then be a hundred times as hard later on for the advanced workers in the Soviet Union to replace the Stalinist bureaucracy with a revolutionary leadership that would fight for the workers' interests. It would make much more difficult the job of moving forward in the Soviet Union toward better conditions, toward socialism. We must not forget the crimes of Stalin, we must get rid of him if we want the struggle to be waged as it should be waged, but we must remember that the main enemy is the imperialist powers who keep the rest of the world in subjection.

The Fundamental Principle

We must never forget this principle: wherever a workers' organization comes into conflict with a capitalist state, wherever a workers' organization comes into conflict with the bosses, wherever an oppressed people come into conflict with their oppressors, we must support and defend the workers' state, the workers' organization, the oppressed people.

It was more or less along the lines of this principle that advanced workers supported and defended the recently called-off Negro March On Washington against its enemies and critics. We did not trust the leaders of the March, the Randolphs and Walter Whites, and we warned the masses that they would not conduct the March in the militant, independent manner required. We pointed out the weaknesses in their program and the bureaucratic way they had organized the March.

But nevertheless we supported the March and called on all workers to do the same. For essentially, in spite of its leadership, the March was a struggle between the Negro people with their labor allies on the one side, and the capitalist government protecting and sponsoring Jim Crowism on the other. If we hadn't supported the March, or if we had been "neutral" and indifferent, we would only have played into the hands of Jim Crow.

Henry Ford's New Strategy

He Is Trying To Corrupt And Bureaucratize Union Which Beat Him

DETROIT, June 30—The Ford contract granting the UAW-CIO a closed shop, check-off system, increases in wages, seniority, grievance machinery, and other union conditions, represents a tremendous victory for the labor movement. What was formerly the plague-spot of open shop terrorism, is now the first closed shop among the big auto manufacturers.

This contract represents the final outcome of the great Ford strike on April 2nd which was won with such absolute decisiveness and finality.

But in reality, this victory at Ford is so good, that it threatens to become too much of a good thing. Ford capitulated on such a lavish scale, that it appears he hopes to sate the union leadership with victory, like a besieged emperor who surrenders to an opposing general, fills him with the fruits of victory on a grand scale, and awaits the moment when his enemy has grown fat, self-satisfied and vulnerable to surprise.

OBJECTIONS TO CONTRACT

It is a tribute to the Ford workers, who showed such sound instincts from the first moment of the strike, that a considerable section of the membership, at the huge ratification meeting held at the Coliseum at the state fair grounds, fought against key sections of the contract.

These militant union men voiced a serious criticism of the contract along the following lines:

1. The lack of a workable steward system.

2. The service men remain intact.

3. The check-off system is a danger.

It can be said generally that, in spite of the numerous shortcomings of the contract, it is on the whole satisfactory and is a tremendous achievement for unionism, considering the fact that it is the first agreement achieved against a powerful opponent.

HENRY FORD'S STRATEGY

But the eagerness of Henry Ford to grant a closed shop and the check-off has rightly earned the suspicions of the alert rank and file, and opens up the need for a serious investigation of the relationship between the company and the top union leadership, who each day are removed farther from the shop, and are becoming a major power on a national scale. The leadership of the UWA is rapidly becoming a recognized leadership, a union bureaucracy with great prestige as a result of the great gains of the union all along the line. The tendency toward a well-established bureaucratic top leadership is becoming evident in the UAW, especially in the light of the Ford agreement.

Ford's strategy is to give this bureaucracy the means by which to solidify itself and to make it more and more respectable.

FACTS ABOUT FORD

Few workers and none of the UAW top leadership have properly evaluated the strategy over a period of years of the Ford Motor company. To make such an evaluation, it is necessary to understand that the Ford Motor company is a maverick among the manufacturers of America. It is the sole auto manufacturing corporation on such a big scale which is completely owned by one family.

Without going into an exhaustive economic analysis, it is important to point out the following salient facts about Ford:

COMPARISON OF PROFITS

Ford profits have been sizeable, and the money reserves are huge, but the company's rate of profit is the lowest of all the major auto manufacturers.

General Motors' rate of profit from 1927 through 1937 was 35.50%. Chrysler's was 23.79% for the same period. DURING THOSE 11 YEARS FORD'S RATE OF PROFIT WAS THE FANTASTICALLY LOW FIGURE OF .04%.

Ford as empire is built on different lines than General Motors. General Motors is an extensive horizontal empire. Ford is rather an intensive, verticle empire.

GM makes six different cars of many different models and has huge plants making airplanes, refrigerators, parts of all kinds, electrical works, foundry parts, and has investments in many subsidiary fields.

FORD'S WEAK SPOT

But Ford, whose plants have been in the main concentrated on auto manufacture, and fewer models than GM, is the only auto maker who owns his own iron ore ranges, coal mines, ships to deliver materials to River Rouge, his own rubber plant, glass plants, his own plastics plant. The result of this huge investment of capital makes Ford a competitor not only in the auto field, but in steel glass, rubber, etc.; with the necessity of duplicating the methods, research facilities and efficiency of those big manufacturingfields. *This colossal task has proved the Achilles heel for Ford, and has made his empire a comparatively unprofitable enterprise for the past decade and more.*

FORD SEEKS SOLUTION

Ford therefore, in the last few years, has, contrary to the popular myth about him as a huge money maker, been in a mad desperate rush to outdistance his rivals and find some advantage over his rivals in order to put the Ford empire on a really profitable basis.

When unionization was on the order of the day and the great drive began in the auto industry, Ford unlike the other manufacturers who banded together in policy, followed a day to day opportunistic policy in order to find, in the complicated problems of the union drive, a wedge by which to get the upper hand over the other auto manufacturers.

It is popularly thought that Ford fought the union from day to day consistently. This is contrary to fact.

FORD SETTLED STRIKES

In 1936, during the big strike wave, the Ford Motor Company **forced numerous parts manufacturers to settle the strikes and sign agreements with the union.** Ford's man Gillespie, ex-rum runner, ex-Police Commissioner, and ex-man Friday to Harry Bennett, in the cases of the Kelsey-Hayes, Michigan Tool, Midland Steel and other strikes, intervened with the owners during the strikes and forced them to sign agreements with the union.

Ford was perfectly content to have the union get contracts with all the parts plants, so long as unionism was kept away from his empire. During the GM strike, when the Auto Manufacturers Association rallied to the GM side, Ford followed his lone wolf policy, hoping to see GM completely engulfed and tied up so that he could reap the benefit of sales advantages.

This policy of Ford was motivated by his conviction that no matter how unionism spread, the River Rouge could not be touched. He had the ridiculous idea that all Detroit could be organized, but Ford could do as he pleased.

FORD AND HOMER MARTIN

At the end of 1937, after the UAW had been established in the industry and had signed contracts with all but Ford, the UAW started its Ford Drive.

Ford immediately began a campaign to bring Homer Martin and the other officers of the UAW under his wing in a sort of conspiracy between Ford and the union officials. **There is no question but that at this time Ford contemplated signing some kind of agreement or formal contract with the UAW.** This is well known by informed people in the auto union.

However, this plan blew up in smoke. The leader of the UAW, Homer Martin, was an irresponsible preacher who allowed himself to be sidetracked time and again. Martin and his followers who include many of the present leaders of the UAW, blew up in the virulent faction fight in the union at the very time that Ford was dickering for some kind of agreement.

FORD'S AIM IN 1938

Harry Bennett, with his service men strategists, thereupon threw his whole influence toward wrecking the UAW from the inside, and thereby avoid dealing with the UAW. The whole Ford drive collapsed as the union leadership became too entangled in factionalism to carry on.

Ford's 1937 strategy was clear. He tried to buy off the leaders, not by direct bribery, not as individuals, but by converting the union movement into a docile creature by means of the familiar tactics of paternalism and by aiding the crystallization of a bureaucracy. But when the faction fight began to ravage the UAW, Ford tried to blow up the UAW altogether.

FORD'S 1940 STRATEGY

After the UAW had finally finished with Homer Martin and the internal fight, regained its position and begun gaming ground again in 1939 and 1940, Ford, seeing his previous campaign to smash the union from within had failed, decided to break the union once and for all by means of a head-on clash.

It was another change in line. With every changing situation, Ford altered his policy, opportunistically searching as always for a way to gain an advantage over the other manufacturers in the field.

The failure of this attempt to smash the union head-on is now history. The 80,000 Ford workers at River Rouge showed it couldn't be done. Ford's hope that he would maintain the open shop, and thereby have a competitive advantage over the Chrysler and GM corporations was destroyed by the great strike.

FORD'S PRESENT SITUATION

Today Ford is in a peculiar economic position. He has become less and less an auto maker, and more and more a contractor for Government orders in armament. While the other manufacturers have launched gigantic armaments production, they have stepped cautiously. Ford has gone hog-wild for government orders. This is only a part of his desperate search for a way to increase his rate of profit, and to get the jump on his rivals.

The huge government contracts secured by General Motors are mainly being executed by the productive machinery which is an integral part of its organization. The making of trucks, airplane motors, machine guns and ammunition is mainly centered in its already existing plant. GM has been organized for airplane production for years, with the huge North American plant on the West Coast. It makes motors at its long established aircraft motor plants, the Allison division. The conversion of the AC Spark plug plant to the manufacture of machine guns was comparatively simple.

But Ford has gone into anything and everything he can get in the way of government orders, regardless of his present plant facilities. The completely new aircraft plant at Ypsilanti represents a huge new field for Ford. He is expanding his shipbuilding facilities and expanding all along the line. At the same time he is getting rid of a lot of worthless plants by selling them to the government.

In the midst of this radical changeover in his whole set-up, Ford met the union head-on and was defeated. It was obvious to him that he needed a radical change in policy.

FORD'S 1941 STRATEGY

He had already taken a radical about-face, by beginning an era of full cooperation with the Government...a real change for Ford.

His automobiles are losing out on the market. Confronted with an invincible union, the necessity to pay the same wages as others, Ford had to seek in his usual opportunistic manner, for some advantage.

General Motors, which represents the policies of the American ruling class with real consistency, didn't want the closed shop. The GM negotiators told the union representatives that they would never grant the closed shop, since it would solidify the union, enrich it, and give it a social and political significance which they feared.

But Ford does not act in unison with the ruling class as a whole. Driven by his economic dilemma, he acts from day to day on an improvised and independent program.

REPEATS HOMER MARTIN LINE

Confronted with a new situation, and faced with functioning on the new arena of a completely victorious union, **Ford now repeats his policy of 1938 when he tried to make a deal with Homer Martin and take the union under his wing.** He has granted the check-off system in order to attempt to establish in the UAW a firm bureaucracy with an assured income, with which he could cooperate against the too-militant rank and file at Ford's...a rank and file that has shown its mettle.

The great danger to the union in this strategy of Ford's is already evident. The agreement itself reveals the danger, in that it does not abolish the service department, but merely provides that service men must wear badges. The tendency toward bureaucratization of the UAW was shown even more by the union top leadership before and during the strike. Never have they granted an ounce of autonomy to the Ford workers. Decisions are all made by an appointed director. The size of the local is used as a pretext for denying it democratic rights. The top leaders have all moved in and show no inclination of moving out and letting the Ford workers run their union.

THE MAIN DANGER NOW

The Ford contract smashed for all time the open shop of the Ford empire and humbled forever the greatest anti-union fortress. But the union is established so decisively, so overwhelmingly, that the workers must be on guard against the other danger . . . Ford unable to lick them in a showdown fight, is now trying to buy the union off, not by personal bribery, but by making the leadership subservient to him, by fattening them, by glutting them with $150,000 a month, by creating a smug, self-satisfied conservative top structure in the UAW.

By signing this contract Ford hopes to housebreak the UAW and gain the advantage of continued uninterrupted production, plus the added sales advantage of the union label.

The Ford workers must organize all their great potential power, shown so brilliantly by the shop committees which kept a continuous slow-down going to keep the pressure on during negotiations on the contract.

THE MAIN DEMAND NOW

The Ford workers must use the courage and skill and imagination that they have demonstrated they possess, and organize themselves for the purpose of securing and demanding real union autonomy, the right to decide their own problems like other locals of the UAW.

Only in this way can they guard against Ford's strategy to tame and corrupt the UAW.

By their opposition to the contract, the Ford workers have shown the fine instincts which characterized them in all their battles with Ford. The fact alone that the militant rank and file made itself heard at the huge mass meetings is a tribute to the fact that the Ford workers must and will succeed in achieving democratic rights, and in establishing a Ford local in the true sense of the term.

The Unsubdued Argentine

By QUEBRACHO

BUENOS AIRES, June 8 (By Mail)—In a Sunday issue of the New York *Times* of April, there appears one of the series of current articles by John White, its correspondent in Buenos Aires, in which the American bourgeoisie is informed that the South American proletariat is ready to follow Wall Street when Roosevelt orders the open entry of the United States into the imperialist massacre.

As a loyal agent of the imperialism which he represents, Mr. White confounds reality with his own desires. If indeed it is certain that most of the Latin-American governments are disposed to do so, it is no less certain that the Latin-American masses—at least those in this southern part of the continent—far from revealing enthusiasm for the cause of their "big brother" of the north, begin to see in the latter their main enemy.

The Argentine people look upon the imperialist contest as something which doesn't concern them and from which they wish to remain completely apart. The lack of results obtained by the Fifth Columns of both sides is a clear demonstration of that.

THE ARGENTINE SUPPORTERS OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM

Former fascists today proclaim themselves fervent "democrats"; conservative, radicals, "socialists" and union bureaucrats likewise.

But the masses have an intuition of the farce and do not participate in it. They shun the "Accion Argentina" committee, a notoriously impotent movement in spite of all the money spent on it by the British embassy. They ignore the Socialist leaders who have converted themselves into a shock brigade of Anglo-American imperialism and of "Accion Argentina." Neither are the masses influenced by the warlike campaign of the official organs of Anglo-Yankee imperialism: "Libre Palabra," "Argentina Libre," "Desfile," "Accion Argentina," "Alerta," etc. etc., nor the "I am an American," introduced in our midst by the daily "Critica."

Likewise the official visits of Hollywood ambassador, such as that of Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., leaves the Argentine people indifferent. The Anglo-Yankee fifth column is carrying on an intense campaign, but it is a campaign which until now has had small prospects for success.

SUPPORTERS OF GERMAN IMPERIALISM

Very few political figures among us have dared to present themselves as representatives of Axis policy.

But if the Nazi fifth column has gained little strength in this fashion, the fascist group has increased its number in another way. The division in the Radical Party which became evident at the last convention in Buenos Aires, presented the Nazi-fascist group with the possibility of opening relations with the Radicals of Cordoba and other groups. Nazi-fascism has also succeeded in winning over F.O.R.J.A., the left of the Radical Party. But its pretended mass movements, "Affirmacion Argentina," "Allianza de la Juventud Nacionalista," etc., have obtained results no better than that of "Accion Argentina."

However, one should bear in mind that the demagogic campaign of the organs of the Nazi-fascist column, "El Panpero," "Nuevo Order," "Choque," etc., etc., which carry on agitation around such appealing slogans for the masses as "neutrality" and "national liberation" and even go so far as to proclaim the struggle "against all imperialism," has been able to obtain greater results.

At present one can clearly see a hidden Nazi-fascist influence in the government of Castillo. The Argentine government has not straightened out matters with Washington and a silent hostility appears to manifest itself on both sides. The Argentine ruling class is still not ready "to play ball" with Yankee imperialism.

Argentina also has not agreed to confiscate Axis boats anchored in its ports as was done by the U. S. and most Latin-American countries. Castillo affirmed in his recent message to Congress that he is determined to maintain neutrality at all costs, that is, he will not enter into Roosevelt's plans of "continental defense."

But the economic situation of the country is growing more critical each day and tends to dictate a broad agreement with the United States. This situation, together with the constant pressure of world events, unfolds so rapidly that in all probability, and soon, the Castillo government will have to be of American make.

Thus Argentina, like the whole South American will be aligned in the "continental defense" front by which Yankee imperialism prepares to drag in our masses to serve as cannon fodder for its interests. But since our people don't want any of this, force will be necessary to obligate them. For that a dictatorship is lacking — *a "democratic" dictatorship.* And that is what is on the order of the day in Argentina.

White Landlord May Slay Negro Says Texas Court

Lynch "Justice"

A Conroe, Texas, court decided, on June 14, that rich white land-owners may deliberately slay Negroes, and that the act is not to be condemned as murder, but is to be praised.

That court also decided that a Negro is automatically guilty of any abominable crime of which a white man seeks to accuse him, and that an accused Negro is under no circumstances, entitled to a fair trial by jury.

That court further confirmed the fact that justice for the Negro in the South is dictated solely by the law of lynch, in which judges, prosecutors, white planter juries, and police officers form part of the lynch mob—incite it, lead it, defend it.

That court took less than ten minutes to acquit and congratulate W. S. Cochran, wealthy white land-owner, four days after he rose in a public court room and calmly shot to death Robert White, a 31-year old Negro on trial for the third time on the classical frame-up charge of "raping" Cochran's wife. Two previous convictions had been reversed, the first by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, the second by the United States Supreme Court.

The action of the Texas higher court alone proved White's innocence, for it is almost impossible to conceive of a Southern ruling class court reversing the verdict of a local white jury against a Negro, even on technical grounds, unless the evidence against his guilt was so overwhelming that to do otherwise would have seriously damaged the court's prestige.

Fingerprint and foot-print evidence secured at the scene of the crime, as well as the medical evidence of the physician who examined Mrs. Cochran, provided conclusive material evidence that White was innocent. That evidence was deliberately excluded from his first two trials.

So Cochran saved the face of Southern "justice" and executed "sentence" on White.

Deliberate Murder

After he committed this deliberate murder, Cochran gave himself up to "arrest" by his close friend, the sheriff. The judge did his bit for the "defense of white womanhood" by promptly releasing Cochran on $500 bond.

At Cochran's "trial" four days later, the public prosecutor acted openly as his defender:

"The time has not come," declared this "guardian" of the law "and I trust never will come when any man, black or white, can steal into a man's house and ravish his wife and go free."

Thus, a Negro, who has never even received a fair trial is adjudged guilty as a matter of course. A rich white Southerner, who commits deliberate murder of a Negro is, likewise as a matter of course, adjudged innocent.

But it's an old story that lynch justice is the only law for the Southern Negroes. This lynching has less the aspects of horror than most others. White was "mercifully" shot, instead of being tortured to death, which is usual with lynch proceduce. The single variation, in this instance, was that the lynchers "legalized" the murder by giving one of their mob a mock trial.

What is significant is the reaction of Roosevelt, his administrative officials, and the Northern press to this "incident." Roosevelt, in a public statement last week, paid lip service to the principle of "no-discrimination." He breathed not a word about the glaring example of race hatred which had just occured. The Northern papers, if they carried the story of the White lynching, did so inconspicuously, and with a cynical wink-of-the-eye.

Roosevelt and the boss papers haven't time to deal with Southern "justice." They're too busy trying to convince the Negro people of the horrors in store for them if they do not defend the Southern ruling class against Hitler.

Slated To Starve

Several hundred thousand WPA workers like the one shown in this picture, and their families, will be faced with starvation shortly as a result of the recent slashes in WPA appropriations initiated by Roosevelt. Although unemployment remains at over 9,000,000—higher than it was in 1937—WPA jobs will be reduced this summer to less than a million under the Administration's WPA budget figure of $886,000,000. CIO President Philip Murray declared recently that the situation of the unemployed is "worse now than any time since the WPA was started" in 1935.

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.**
5. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
6. **For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
7. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
8. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
9. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**

A Stalinist Boast

Primitive peoples used to try to drive away demons and evil spirits by raising a fearful din. The theory was that if they made enough noise, the ghostly tormentors would be unable to draw close enough to torture uneasy consciences.

The Stalinists are behaving now in similar fashion. One of the wildest cries being raised by the medicine men of the *Daily Worker* is: "There are no Munichmen in the USSR!"

Stalin's hirelings in this country are trying to pass off Stalin's bloody purges as "measures of defense" which "strengthened the USSR." The June 26 *Daily Worker* says: "The democratic peoples everywhere are now profiting from the vigilance of the Soviet Government's exposure of its handful of hidden Hitlerite agents."

Unfortunately for the medicine men, the ghosts of this "handful" are too numerous, their names writ too large in the fabric of history. Their end was too recent, too fateful, too well-remembered. Their ghosts are not to be driven off by wild cries reducing them to a "handful." Among them were:

The purges of 1935-38 took the heads of virtually every *President* of the Federated Republics of the USSR. Every single *Prime Minister*, including Molotov, has either been removed or replaced throughout the entire USSR. The list of the purged *Commissars* and *Vice-Commissars* is interminable. Every single *People's Commissariat* in the land was purged, repurged and then again purged.

The same applies to *Ambassadors*, ranking *C.P.S.U. officials, lower party functionaries*, the *Komsomol* (the Russian Youth Organization the *Trade Unions, Trade and Industry, Transport and Communications, Justice, all local courts Press, and Radio, Arts, Science etc.* Even the *GPU* has been purged from top to bottom and reorganized several times. *In short, there is not a single sphere in Soviet life which has not been ruthlessly decimated.* Yes, even the Soviet Pioneers, the children.

The *Army and Navy* suffered the most terrible blows. What remains of the General Staff appointed by Stalin himself on November 20, 1935, i.e., less than one year before the first Moscow Frame-up Trial was staged in 1936?

Who were the people then acclaimed by *Pravda* as the "best of the best, the worthies of the worthy from among the iron tribe of the commanders of the Red Army"? Here is a partial list:

Partial List of Victims

Five men were appointed Marshals. Three of them were shot: Marshal Tukhachevsky, Marshal Yegorov, and Marshal Bluecher. Only two are still alive, Voroshilov who has been replaced by Timoshenko, and Budenny who has been removed from active service.

Five men constituted the next highest ranking officers in the General staff. Only one is still among the living.

1) S. S. Kamenev—reportedly died a natural death;

2) I. E. Yakir, Head of the Kiev Military District—shot;

3) I. P. Uborevich, Head of the Bielo Russian Military District (the Minsk area where the severest fighting is now taking place)—shot;

4) J. P. Belov, Head of the Moscow Military District—missing;

5) B. M. Shaposhnikov, Head of Leningrad Military District, later Head of the General Staff, removed for "reasons of health" last year.

The man next in rank, J. B. Gamarnik, Voroshilov's first Deputy and Head of the Political Department—dead, reportedly a "suicide." The Political Department itself was abolished in 1940.

Of the next ten ranking Red Army Generals, all ten are either dead or missing:

1) P. E. Dybenko, Head of the Volga Military District—shot;

2) M. K. Levandovsky, Head of the Transcaucasian Military District—missing;

3) I. N. Dubovo, Head of the Kharkov Military District—missing;

4) I. F. Fedko, Head of Coast Guard, missing;

5) A. I. Kork—Head of the Military Academy of the Red Army—shot;

6) N. D. Kashirin, Head of North Caucasian Military District—missing;

7) A. I. Sedyakin—Deputy of the Head of the General Staff (at the time, Marshal Yegorov)—shot;

8) J. I. Alksnis, Head of the Soviet Air Force—shot;

9) I. A. Khalepsky—Head of Armored and Tank Divisions—shot;

10) I. I. Vatsetis, Special Consultant to the General Staff—missing.

Of the fifteen men next in rank, fourteen are missing or shot:

1) M. P. Amelin (Yakir's Deputy)—missing;

2) L. N. Aronstam (Bluecher's Deputy)—shot;

3) A. S. Bulin (Uborevich's Deputy)—missing;

4) G. I. Veklichev (Belov's Deputy)—missing;

5) A. S. Grishin (Deputy of Admiral Haller)—missing;

6 G. I. Gugin—missing;

7) B. M. Ippo, Head of the Military-Political Institute—shot;

8) S. N. Koshevnikov—missing;

9) M. M. Landa—Editor of "Red Star," official organ of the Red Army—missing;

10) A. I. Mezis (Dybenko's Deputy)—shot;

11) G. S. Okunev—missing;

12) I. E. Slavin, Head of the Red Army Military Political Schools—missing;

13) A. L. Shifress, Head of Military Economic Academy—shot;

14) G. A. Osepyan (Gamarnik's Deputy—missing.

Red Army Decimated

Both of the former heads of the Navy were shot: Admiral Orlov, in supreme command of the Red Navy, and M. V. Viktorov, head of the Pacific Fleet. The next two highest in command have likewise been shot: L. M. Haller, Head of the Baltic Fleet, and I. K. Kozhanov, Head of the Black Sea Fleet.

"Known to the whole land," wrote **Pravda**, "are the names of S .S. Kamenev, I. E. Yakir, I. P. Uborevich, I. P. Belov, B. M. Shaposhnikov, V. M. Orlov, M. V. Viktorov and the others . . . They are the fighting, tried and tested leaders, the outstanding military workers of the Soviet Union" (Pravda, November 21, 1935).

Only three out of these 39 "outstanding military workers" are alive today. Is there any High Command in the world that could suffer the loss of 36 out of its 39 ranking officers without seriously endangering its army?

Stalin murdered the legendary heroes of the Civil War, the idols of the people, men revered by the soldiers, men who modernized and mechanized the Red Army, who introduced parachute troops and all other innovations. And his hirelings brazenly affirm that this has strengthened the USSR!

But this does not exhaust the havoc among the cadres of the Red Army. Hundreds of other high ranking officers were purged. We add here **only the names of those who functioned in the People's Commisariat of National Defense** and whose names do not appear in the roll-call above, namely, General Feldman, General Volkis, General Nikolsky, General Kulik, General Apoga—all shot. Except for the commanders of the North Sea Fleet, all regional and fleet commanders were purged by 1939. By 1937, more than 40 percent of all the officers had disappeared from the Red Army. Colonels were promoted to division commanders, many regiments were commanded by captains, lieutenants and even second lieutenants. After the Finnish invasion in June, 1940, there was still another reorganization of the commanding cadres.

It is only in 1940, less than a year before the Nazi onslaught, that the names of the men now heading the Red Army appear among the "outstanding military workers." What is the record of these nonenties, Timoshenko, Zhukov, Meretskov and Tulenev whom Stalin appointed in 1940 to the highest posts?

Timoshenko's military achievements are exhausted by this, that he led the troops who "liberated" Western Ukraine, i.e., the territory of former Poland.

Meretskov's credentials consist of his having barely missed disgrace in directing the Finnish campaign. He replaced Shaposhnikov as Head of the General Staff, and was himself replaced by G. K. Zhukov in February of this year.

As for Zhukov, he distinguished himself by taking charge of purging the Ukrainian Red Army. He was in command of the tank detachments in the Far East, and took part in the battles against Japanese in Outer Mongolia in 1938.

Tulenev, the fourth in this galaxy, has not been heard from lately.

Not one of them had any distinguished record in the Civil War, and only one of them is officially credited with even having participated in it.

The *Daily Worker* now says "there are no Munichmen in the USSR."

Then let us note it well. Don't tell us in the future that the crimes actually committed by Stalin are due to "hidden handfuls"—to "Munichmen." The responsibility for every failure henceforth, for every breach in Soviet defense, for every new blow at the Red Army, rests with Stalin and Stalin alone.

Workers' Control in Britain's Factories

Shop Stewards Have Taken Over Food Canteens In Factories To Make Sure Workers Are Not Cheated Of Their Rations

Written By A Shop Steward In The Midlands

LONDON (By Mail)—The slogan, "Workers' Control" is one whose potency is being powerfully demonstrated every day.

At the present time it is in the distribution of rationed and limited supplies of food in the factory canteens that the incompetence of the boss class is made most obvious to the workers.

The method followed by the boss is simple in theory and easy in execution. Managers, under-managers, foremen, underforemen, office staff, etc. are supplied with as much as they want for their use at work, with a "little" over to take home. What is left is displayed in the canteen for the workers to scramble for. The result is of course, that only a few workers get anything at all—despite the fact that these supplementary supples are for "Workers, Industrial Grades" only.

The first known instance of the control of supplies by the Shop Stewards took place over the distribution of tea and sugar at a big factory in Barrow in Furness. The Shop Stewards Committee approached the Food Control Officer in the district and demanded that the permit for the supplementary supplies be handed over to them directly. This was done, and the Shop Stewards then bought tea and sugar from the local Co-op and distributed it with meticulous exactitude and without profit, to the workers.

DEMAND FOR WORKERS' CONTROL BACKED BY STRIKE NOTICE

This lead has since been followed in many big factories in various parts of the country. In one particular factory in Yorkshire the management refused to hand over the supplies of tea, sugar and cigarettes to the Stewards. A factory meeting was called by the Shop Stewards in the dinner hour and the following resolution was drawn up:

"We, the Shop Stewards Committee of the above works, having been refused participation in the equal distribution and consumption of tea, sugar and cigarettes by the management, hereby officially notify the Ministry of Supply and the Works Management that, failing satisfactory settlement of our just demands within the next 48 hours from the time and date given above, a three days complete strike will be called, following which no overtime will be worked until such time as adequate supplies of supplementary rations, as promised by the Government for industrial workers, are forthcoming. We consider that the withholding of the workers' supplies in this factory by the management is tantamount to deliberate sabotage of the war effort, and we call on the Ministry of Supply to assist us in our effort to call this management to order."

It was decided that one copy of this be sent to the Ministry of Supply and one to the management. Twenty minutes after the management received their copy, the union officers were sent for and told that in future the distribution of supplies would be left to the Shop Stewards.

Other Factory Committees have gone further than this with the control of canteen supplies. One committee found it impossible to work with the management at all and set up their own canteen. They received their supplies direct from the wholesalers and employed a staff. They now cook and sell their own hot meals inside the factory at such prices that the factory canteen has since gone out of business.

In a factory in the Midlands a committee has been formed by the Shop Stewards consisting of two representatives from the management's side and six from the Shop Stewards Committee. All dealings with the Food Commissioner and the wholesalers are done through this committee. Decision reached by it are passed on to the manager of the canteen as instructions. No interference from the management is tolerated. The committee gives the instructions, the management pays for the supplies and the committee rations the goods and fixes the prices. All invoices are scrutinized by the committee. No person can obtain any short supplies from the canteen without a signed chit from the section steward. This goes for the management as well as the workers. The control is complete and scrupulously fair.

FIRST ATTEMPTS MADE TO CONTROL FACTORY OUTPUT

There have been attempts by various Shop Stewards Committees to control not only canteen supplies but factory output. The most classic example of this has so far been that of the works committee of a big factory in Liverpool. Apparently the management, working on the cost-plus-percentage-profit system, were more concerned with increasing the cost than with increasing output. The Shop Stewards, sickened by this and by the apathy and lack of organization, demanded some sort of control in the factory, their object being to increase output and lower costs.

The management, of course, refused to co-operate. A deputation was then formed by the Stewards and sent to London to interview, amongst others, Beaverbrook and Bevin. After being run around in the usual way the deputation eventually managed to see Beaverbrook (deletion here by British censor). One of the bosses of the firm, after seeing the deputation promised to "look into things," since when of course nothing has been done. It is worth nothing here that the Shop Stewards promised to clear up the mess and gave a definite promise of a large increase in output if sufficient powers were extended to them. The bosses, however, made it quite clear to the workers that output was a secondary consideration by refusing to co-operate.

It is more or less generally agreed by the workers, particularly in Government factories, that the "war effort" is retarded by hopelessly incompetent bosses. Whereas attempts to force the bosses to organize their factories into a state of efficiency were at one time being made by most factory committees, this stage is now passing and the workers, more and more aware of the inability of the ruling class to organize their factories for output, as apart from profit, are beginning to treat the inefficiency as a joke. "If the bosses aren't concerned with output, why the hell should I be? I've got nothing to lose anyway." That is rapidly becoming the attitude of mind of the average worker.

I recently had the pleasure of hearing a Steward, exasperated at the red tape and waste of time over the execution of an otherwise very simple job, put his feelings into very plain words. "If the Government is running this war like you are running this factory, it's no wonder we are getting so many defeats!"

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF BOSS INCOMPETENCE

At another factory in Lancashire a Steward received a complaint from one of the workers that a great deal of time was being lost by men waiting in a queue for tin hats being issued by the management. The Steward, on investigation, found that a line five hundred strong had been formed under the management's instructions and were being served with tin hats by one man. This man was supposed to fit and obtain a signature for every tin hat served out. Some of the workers had been waiting for as long as three hours and were afraid to leave the line in case they lost their turn.

The Steward at once drew the management's attention to this and pointed out that the loss of time would be colossal. The manager said he would 'look into it.' Of course, nothing was done about it, and twenty days later the distribution of tin hats limped to a close. Results: 12,000 hours lost in machine time; £6,000 lost in production and machine time. As the Steward pointed out, the whole distribution could have been carried out at a cost of not more than twenty pounds.

There are many lessons to be learned from the limited data given above. The most important is the role being played at this stage by the Shop Stewards. By the very nature of his job he will find himself ironing out the day to day troubles over which minor strikes could and would develop. But these strikes would have very little real significance — that is, political significance. He will, if he is an intelligent Shop Steward, use these differences to show the workers that, with an organized front in the factory and good leadership, the bosses are invariably forced to give way. In brief, the ruling class can do with the workers just what the workers allow them to do, and no more.

Left Jabs by *Cort*

The British government considers the Soviet Union an "associated power" rather than an ally, the United Press reported June 30th.

Stalin wants to forget the class line but Churchill—and Roosevelt—won't let him.

* * *

Let's kiss and make up, cries the *Daily Worker;* but Louis Waldman expressed the line of the capitalist "allies" when he says:

"If Russia is to be saved it must be saved as a democracy. President Roosevelt has the right to demand of the Government of Russia, as a condition of our aiding it in its present self-created plight, the restoration of democracy . . ."

Doorothy Thompson put it even more baldly:

"The fate of Russia now lies in the hands of the democracies. For the first time there is a chance of an evolution in Russia toward a socialist democracy."

Learn from your enemies, comrades of the C.P.! Learn to be as irreconcilable in your class line as the bourgeoisie is in theirs.

* * *

The N. Y. *Times* correspondent in Berlin writes that there is much speculation in high Nazi circles as to Stalin's successor — should Hitler win. "It is of interest," writes the correspondent, "that two children of the late Grand Duke Cyril are living in Germany or occupied territory."

The German would install a Romanoff; the Allies would revive a Kerensky; but the Soviet masses will do some reviving of their own — Soviet democracy.

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The British Broadcasting Corporation used to include the national anthem of Britain's allies in its musical program, but finally conclude that "Britain now has so many allies that the playing of all their anthems would consume too much time out of the broadcasting schedule."

Gallagher, Stalinist M. P., suggested a simple solution to the problem. Play the International. That would take care of all the countries at once.

But Gallagher said that before the Soviet Union was dragged into the war. He's singing a different tune now.

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One by one FDR's sons have entered the war machine to the accompaniment of great public fanfare. After the fuss died down they always landed in nice safe jobs. Elliot is a Captain in the Army — as a purchasing agent. James is a Colonel in the Marines — as an Intelligence gumshoe. Now comes John to join the Navy as an Ensign. But not an Ensign that will command a gun turret or direct the dropping of a depth charge. John has just enrolled in the Harvard Business school for a course in the dangerous work of Navy supply.

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P. G. Wodehouse, the British author and creator of Jeeves, the "gentlemen's gentleman," finds the Nazis not hard to take. He has been released from an internment camp and is about to give a series of talks on the German radio.

Wodehouse apparently finds "gentlemen" pretty much the same the world over.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Our Analysis of the Hitler-Stalin Pact

It is a fundamental law of politics that a major political error, if persisted in and if not corrected in time, necessarily leads into ever greater and more numerous errors until one is led to adopt a wrong political line on almost all fundamental questions.

The Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 unnerved and disoriented everyone who did not cling to the fundamental Marxist analysis, made by Trotsky, of the Soviet Union and the Stalinist bureaucracy. As our readers will recall, a minority in our own ranks (now no longer with us) jumped to the conclusion that the pact indicated a close alliance between Hitler and Stalin for the purpose of conquering and dividing the whole world, at least the British Empire.

It was quite common for all the middle-class democrats and also the minority in our ranks to speak of the Berlin-Moscow Axis being pitted against the London-Paris Axis. Their hysteria reached unbelievable heights, at the time of the invasion of "democratic" Finland (now, under the same government, fighting on the side of the Nazis).

As against all of these people our party explained the pact on the basis of Stalin's fear of a major conflict and his anxiety to avoid it at all costs. We were careful to point out, however, that it did not follow from the fact that Stalin wanted to avoid war that war would avoid him.

We also contended that one of the aims of the Stalinist bureaucracy in sending the Red Army into Poland, the Baltic countries and Finland was to strengthen its military-strategic position. True, like all bureaucracies, the Stalinist one wanted to increase its power and prestige, but Stalin also had an eye on fortifying his military-strategic position.

Against whom? Geography answered that it could be only against Hitler. England and France had no way by which they could attack the Soviet Union while Hitler was right on the border of the Soviet Union.

To those who were not blinded by hate of Stalin it was as clear as daylight that Hitler's designs against the Soviet Union were not given up. The Soviet Union still had raw materials that German capitalism needed and the fundamental antagonism between a Hitler Germany and the Soviet State remained. We did not hesitate to state on innumerable occasions that the Nazis would attack the Soviet Union.

It was not possible to predict exactly when and under what circumstances Hitler would attack the Soviet Union. We obviously underestimated, recently, Hitler's urgent need for the raw materials of the Soviet Union in order to prepare for a long war against England and the United States. Unable to bring British imperialism to its knees, Hitler had to turn his guns on the Soviet Union in order to prepare himself for a long war. He certainly had intended originally to conquer England first because that would have left the Soviet Union completely at his mercy but, unable to do so, Hitler shifted his plans.

The democrats and erstwhile Marxists who held the theory that Stalin and Hitler had entered into a partnership for the purpose of conquering and dividing the world, find it completely impossible to explain the sudden attack of Hitler on the Soviet Union.

The Fatal Line of the "Workers Party"

Let us take, for instance, the statement of the former minority of our party, issued immediately after the attack on the Soviet Union. This document of the "Workers Party" very nonchalantly states that whereas the Soviet Union up to now was part and parcel of the imperialist camp of Berlin-Moscow-Rome-Tokio, it is now part of the imperialist camp of London-Washington-Moscow. The statement clearly indicates that the Soviet Union was to be considered in the same light as Germany and Italy before Hitler's attack and is now to be considered in the same light as England and the United States.

Having asserted this, the "Workers Party" is then confronted with the necessity of an explanation for such an unusual change in imperialist partnerships. The explanation it gives is as follows: "Because it does not resolve its multitude of problems by the extension of its rule, but only increases the number of problems to be resolved, German fascism has now found itself forced to plan for a longer and more destructive war. This is why Hitler has now turned upon his ally of yesterday, etc. etc."

All this about Hitler is perfectly true—but it does not follow from the "Workers Party" idea of a joint agreement on the part of Hitler and Stalin to divide the world.

For, if one claims that such a close partnership existed between Stalin and Hitler, then the fact that Hitler found himself in trouble need not and would not lead to his attacking the Soviet Union. Just as Hitler came to Mussolini's aid when the latter was in trouble, so could Stalin have come to Hitler's aid when such aid was needed. If Stalin had been so intimately connected with Hitler as to have agreed to divide the world with him, the most natural thing would be for Stalin to open the doors to Hitler and offer anything Hitler needed. He would give him more oil, more wheat and more of everything necessary for his patrner to win. And if he did not have enough, Hitler would understand the situation and not ask for more than Stalin could give.

is it possible to show by the example of the shift on the part of France from a partnership with English imperialism to one with German imperialism that such a shift occurred in the case of the Soviet Union? The example of France proves the exact contrary. France had to be defeated and had to establish a completely new government before shifting from one imperialist camp to another. In the case of the Soviet Union there was no defeat and no change of government. The whole situation becomes grotesque on the basis of the theory that Stalin and Hitler by the pact of August 1939 agreed to conquer and divide the world.

But those who leave the firm ground of revolutionary Marxism and persist in their errors must inevitably reach the realms of political stupidity if not of downright betrayal.